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A LAST TRIBUTE.

BY EX-SPEAKER REED.

THE three months' session of the last Congress which the Democratic party will control for many years, has not been any more profitable to the country than the previous period of its existence; nevertheless, there exist to-day fewer opportunities for that ringing condemnation which characterized comments on its former sessions. There is a limit to the evil which any one Congress may do, and even the incompetent get tired of the exercise of their own incompetency. Still there were some points of incapacity which remained to be illustrated in order that the country might have a rounded result which would remain as a significant lesson to the people for a long period of time. It will not be possible, however, to describe these last three months with as much vigor as was suitable in describing those which preceded it. Human nature revolts against it. The verdict of the people was so overwhelming at the last election that there is upon us all that soberness which one cannot help feeling for the dead even when they did not die in the Lord and can have no desire that their works shall follow them. Moreover, the country more thoroughly than ever before appreciates the extent of the disaster which has happened to it and realizes how slow must be the process of recuperation. There are times when depression is so great that men have no heart to revile even those who were the sources of their sorrow.

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When Congress assembled in Washington in December, the condition of the Treasury was such as to excite the alarm of judicious men and cause much apprehension for the future. All the anticipations which had been indulged in by its enemies as to the revenue-producing powers of the new Tariff bill, with its adjuncts, the increase of the spirit tax and the income tax, had been more than realized. The last month's loss to the treasury, comparing its expenses with its disbursements, had been more than nine millions, and it seemed probable that the following months would show still worse results. Into what bad shape we were getting was, however, far from being understood. Never before since the stress of the war had the revenues of the Government fallen behind its expenditures. We had always so great a surplus that we were far ahead of the sinking fund requirements, and were able even during the trying times which preceded the resumption of specie payments to make our revenues more than meet our expenditures, and were not forced to add to the depression of business the still greater depression of a bankrupt treasury. This last depression we have been obliged to undergo during the two preceding years and under peculiar circumstances which rendered it most disastrous.

One of the circumstances which made the condition of our treasury so much more unfortunate for us at this time than any other arose from the manner in which the resumption of specie payments was brought about. We had in circulation at the time of resumption, the legal tender notes, amounting to three hundred and forty-six millions, which were secured by a reserve of one hundred millions in gold and unlimited power of borrowing lodged in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. We afterwards added, as the result of monthly purchases of silver under the law of 1890, one hundred and fifty million of notes, which the policy of the Government had made equal to the legal tenders in their power to demand gold. Hence, when the present Administration came into power there were four hundred and ninety-six millions of paper resting upon the gold reserve. In this state of affairs Congress adjourned last summer with a deficit already existing and a still larger one staring the country in the face. That the regular expenses of the Government must be paid no one doubted. Government expenses must

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go on, for governmental expenses are, like food, raiment and shelter, the prime necessities of human life. Without courts justice would fail, and just now a large proportion of our railroads could not be run; without paid officials even our deficient revenues could not be collected; without lighthouses the ships could not come to port.

Notwithstanding this plain outlook there was no special provision made. Whether this was the result of ignorance or pride makes no difference, the fact remained that as a business establishment, the United States having directly before its vision an empty treasury and a deficient revenue, made no special provision for the exigencies so plainly in sight. Before the present Administration came into power, the possibilities before it were so plainly evident that provision was made by the Senate giving to the Secretary of the Treasury a borrowing power to enable him to meet any possible deficit which might occur in the transition period between the two systems of taxation, the one already existing and the one which was to come. This provision was rejected by the House with the consent of the Administration. I say with the consent of the Administration, because such is common rumor supported by at least one reliable witness. Certain it is that such a measure might have been passed had the Administration desired it.

This abandonment of the temporary power of borrowing thus proffered by the Senate left the Government only one resource, which was the power given it under the acts relating to the resumption of specie payments, to borrow money for redemption purposes. Of course this power was not intended to be used to supply deficient revenues. Such was not its object, but it was made use of in this way. The legal tender and perhaps other notes redeemed out of the gold reserve were reissued after their redemption, and reissued in payment of those current expenses which could not be paid out of the current revenues because they were not sufficient. In this way about $107,000,000 of deficit were paid. To a careless observer it might seem as if it would make no difference. In either event, whether the money was borrowed under the acts relating to resumption or under the proposed temporary power to borrow, the same United States paid. But there was another side to this method of procedure. The United States had become both a business house and a banking insti-

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tution; as the issuer of legal tenders it had agreed to redeem them on presentation. It did so, using the redemption fund for that purpose. But instead of storing up the redeemed notes as any bank would have done when there was a run upon it, and as the United States Treasury would have necessarily done had the revenues equalled the expenditures, the treasury paid out the notes again to liquidate its debts and to be again redeemed out of the resumption fund. From a political point of view this might have been excellent, for it concealed from the people the tremendous deficit. From a financial point of view it was exceedingly disastrous. As the people saw pile after pile of gold set up to melt away like snow beneath a summer sun, it seemed as if all human confidence in our Government had disappeared. There are no matters in which there are so many illusions as in currency, especially during financial crises, and nowhere more than in the domain of finance does the unexpected happen. Who would have ventured to say until it happened that the issue of the one-pound notes in 1825 in England would have ended the monetary crisis of that year. What was perhaps an infraction of the law has twice saved us by the issue of Clearing House certificates. Of course, the relation of cause and effect in these cases is now understood, but the knowledge was the result of experiment. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the process by which the redemption of legal tenders and the payments of the deficit were mixed up, helped greatly to create the feeling of insecurity which has rested so heavily upon our people. It seemed as if redemption of nearly 200,000,000 legal tenders had been demanded by an untrusting world, and that no end of this process was in sight. In reality only 88,000,000 had been retired; the other money, the bulk of the sum which had disappeared, had gone to pay debts due—debts resulting from tariff action—and threatened action which caused the Treasury to fail to pay its way by that great sum.

Such being the condition of the Treasury, the first thing which would naturally have been done by a compact, competent party in charge of all branches of the government would have been to replenish the Treasury by the passage of acts which would have created the needed revenue, or if a future surplus was really believed in or hoped for, by acts which would have enabled the Treasury to separate in the public mind the payment of debts

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from the redemption of currency and cut the "endless chain" which was pumping the gold of this country into the "markets of the world."

Instead of this, under the auspices of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Springer presented to the discordant multitude which held sway in the House of Representatives a bill to reconstruct our entire banking system. Hardly had the subject been presented to the House before it was apparent to all that the system was incongruous and impossible, acceptable neither to the House nor the outside world.

Mr. Springer then opened a campaign in favor of a substitute, which had no better success and deserved the fate it met, for it attempted to harness to the same team steeds which could never pull together. The whole equipage seemed to fall of its own inherent weakness.

In the case of both these bills no effort whatever was made to take the questions involved out of politics and to enlist the services and support of those in favor of a sound currency without regard to political affiliations. The sole effort seemed to be to unite their own people on something consistent with the prejudices, prepossessions and platform of the Democratic party as a party. Of course, if that party had been united and compact, or even capable of being made so, this would have been a laudable method to adopt. But everybody knew, by the fatal experiences of the two preceeding sessions, that such was not the case—that there was no possibility of cohesion, no probability of agreement.

It was admitted on all hands that something ought to be done with regard to our banking system. The only excuse for the existence of banks is the public advantage, and if they are worth establishing at all they should be adapted to the uses which make them of public advantage. The business of this community depends on banking facilities much more than people ordinarily comprehend. With bank deposits of $4,500,000,000 as a basis on which bank credits can be issued the purchasing power of the country is very greatly enlarged, and its influence on prices and on business cannot be too much insisted upon. Such is the facility with which credits can be transferred and so easily are payments made by this means that the proportion which these deposits bear to the amount of currency, a proportion of three to one, in no way measures the relative importance of the

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two. During the last panic we were brought face to face with one phase of this influence of bank deposits on the transaction of business. We found that it was a very serious clog to business when banks, from motives of prudence, declined to credit uncollected checks and drafts, and the minds of men were turned to the question whether there might not be some reason for legislation which would make all deposits safe as well as all currency. If there had been behind all deposits a certainty of protection, as there is behind all currency, currency would hardly have been at two or three per cent. premium.

National banks have been the subjects of much sharp criticism because of the money they made out of the favorable circumstances connected with the United States bonds. The cause of that criticism has certainly passed away, as has been shown by the diminished circulation which they have made use of.

In 1873 the bank circulation reached $341,000,000, and, notwithstanding the increase of population and of business, in 1890 was reduced to $122,000,000, and has since reached $207,000,000. The deposits in banks are made up of the money of the people temporarily not in use, the odds and ends, as it were, of business. The amount of each deposit may be and is comparatively insignificant, but the total is vast. The time each particular deposit can be available is most uncertain, but the average of the whole is in ordinary times, at least, nearly unvarying. Therefore, it happens that what separately would be incapable of use, collectively becomes of constant use.

One obstacle to the adjustment of our banking situation has been the high price of United States bonds and the 90 per cent. restriction. If this restriction were removed and some readjustment of bonds made by refunding, with reduction of interest, coupled with a suitable change in taxation, the banking facilities of the country might be much increased.

One thing is certain, that banking is a business which men enter upon for the purpose of making money, and no way has ever yet been invented to induce men to go into any sort of business permanently which does not pay. In this country, and perhaps in all others, there are statesmen who think, though they do not quite acknowledge it, that there is some method discoverable whereby business can be carried on, traffic set in motion, and great enterprises carried out with no incentive whatever, and

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especially without the incentive of possible profits. But history is rather against this unacknowledged theory, and also human nature, so far as it has yet been investigated.

Had something in the directions indicated been proposed, the House might have taken some action—though, of course, the action of the Senate might have been difficult to predict. But, instead, a system of banking on assets alone was proposed, with three different kinds of banks—old national, new national and State banks—and the plan had little support. Whether a radical change in our system is to be demanded by the country only time can tell, and with divergent opinions likely to be entertained by the two branches, or, perhaps, we should say three branches of the legislative power, there will be time enough to consider the whole question in all its bearings during the vacation now before us.

These two attempts of Mr. Springer ended the efforts at financial legislation until, under the stimulus of a special message, a new attempt was made to strengthen the position of the Treasury. This new attempt, which was on party lines without consultation, was also placed in charge of Mr. Springer, whose rapid progress from his free silver position in 1890 is a living illustration of the controlling influence of responsibility. While the bill contained many things deserving commendation, it failed in one thing absolutely essential. It had not the power to secure its own passage through the Senate. This everybody in Congress knew, but the people did not know. Recent events have made this apparent and the attitude of the Senate is now clearly visible. Under these circumstances, which were evident to all thinking men in Congress and are now evident to all outside who have watched the course of events, the Republicans of the House, without any party designs, for the sole purpose of aiding their country in distress, after full consultation with the members of the Senate who have, in a special degree, the confidence of the country, determined to proffer a practical measure which would give to the Treasury all the aid which was possible with the present membership of the House and Senate. They would gladly have aided in any measure to increase the revenue, but when the Secretary of the Treasury declared his faith in a coming surplus, they felt it impossible to force upon him revenues which he declared he did not need. Hence, the Republican proffer included only a right to issue certificates of indebtedness on short time to pay the deficit and a further enlarge-

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ment of the power of the Secretary to borrow for resumption purposes. Had such a bill passed, with some modification if needed to prevent the use of the national bank notes to deplete the redemption fund, the demands made on that fund would have taken care of themselves. The run would have stopped of itself.

The utility of this plan was very great, and even now ought to become a part of our permanent financial system, if the Treasury is to be a redeeming agency. It was precisely what Mr. Sherman, then Secretary of the Treasury, recommended as necessary in his report of 1879, after the resumption of specie payments. "I suggested," said Mr. Sherman in the Senate, Feb. 27, 1895, "that there ought to have been two separate funds—one for resumption and one for current disbursements. If Congress had performed its duty at the time, this trouble would never have arisen." Mr. Sherman's report for 1879 is well worth reading in this connection. What Mr. Sherman recommended in 1879, and the Republicans were ready to do in 1895, was what Mr. Manning tried to do without law while he was Secretary of the Treasury. What he could do, however, he did. He separated the resumption fund of 100 millions from the ordinary assets of the Treasury. This arrangement, unfortunately, not having the direct sanction of law, broke down as soon as the exigencies of a depleted Treasury began to be felt.

This proffer of the Republicans, with an amendment to secure the issue of bank notes up to the par of the bonds, would have carried but for the express disapproval of the Secretary of the Treasury. His remedy appeared later in the bond contract, now somewhat famous. The salient features of this transaction have been so fully criticised that there is no intention here to repeat the criticisms. One thing, however, ought to be distinctly understood. The clause giving us ten days in which to proffer gold bonds was known to every one in Washington to be impracticable and impossible. Not only did the Secretary know it, but the bond buyers must have known it, for they advertised abroad for subscriptions before either House had passed on the question of the option. That the syndicate will make a large sum of money I cannot venture to assert, for the contract is not yet fulfilled. When the pool is closed we shall know. In the most important aspect of the case it is of no consequence whether these enterprising people make money or not, nor from this point of view is it even of con-

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sequence whether the Secretary of the Treasury wisely paid the large difference between the $62,000,000 at 3¾ per cent. and the same sum at 2⅞ per cent. In any event, the Democratic party have so governed this country that in two years after they came into power they have cost us 5 or 10 millions on a loan of $62,000,000. That is the measure of the disaster which has overtaken us. Whether the Administration is to blame for a bad bargain, or whether the party is to blame for placing us where such a bad bargain was a good one, amounts to one and the same thing. These people have cost us this large sum of money in some way or other.

The Republicans, when money was active and everywhere sought for, funded $250,000,000 at 2 per cent., and the present Secretary, when money was a drug in every bank, has funded $62,000,000 at 3¾ per cent. It is quite true that there are other things beside the demand notes of various kinds which depend upon the promise of the Government to make all the dollars equal and interchangeable, and that in a certain sense all the currency we use is based on the Treasury reserve. Yet there can hardly be a doubt that a very limited temporary withdrawal of the demand notes would make apparent the large amount of currency required to do even the diminished business of this country, and the resulting reduction of currency would work its own cessation.

It has already been said that the Government must live and must go on. We have to make appropriations, whatever may come into the Treasury. Yet I fancy that the country, especially that part of the country which remembers the wild outcries in 1890 about the Billion Congress, will be surprised to learn that no deficiency in the revenue, not even though it approaches a hundred millions, has prevented this Congress from declaring by their appropriation acts that the "wants of the Government economically administered" exceed by several millions what they used to denounce as the wanton extravagance of Republicans, and this, although more than 50 millions have been saved by the natural decrease of pensioners by death. As matters of reproach between parties, these great figures have ceased to be very valuable and are to be quietly added to that long catalogue of things which the Democracy does when in power and denounces when out of power. Even Judge Holman, after a lifetime spent

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at the shrine of vocal economy, was forced by personal experience to realize that national expenditure is national necessity. Representatives do but respond to the demands of the people and the real source of public economy must be in the people themselves. Taxes are no longer imposts placed upon citizens to be wasted for purposes of magnificence and show, but are for the most part wealth of the whole used for the benefit of the whole. Neverthe less, whether the income tax, the spirit tax, and the sugar tax produce for us or not a surplus, as is fondly hoped, the fact remains that the annual earnings of this country have not for long years been so small nor its power of expenditure so much limited. It is sincerely to be hoped that any effort made by the next Congress to keep down the appropriations may have the support of public sentiment and popular forbearance. For if each portion of this country should be reasonable in its demands, the total also would be reasonable.

After all the great causes of complaint against the outgoing House, it will seem a trifle unimportant to comment on the appointments of the members of the House to represent the country at the possible international conference to restore bimetallism. The House to which these gentlemen will report will be Republican by a large majority, and it seems as if a sense of propriety would have dictated the appointment of two Republicans out of the three so as to represent the majority of the body to which they will report if any action should have to be taken. This is not said in criticism of the presiding officer, who, undoubtedly, reflected the sentiments of his side of the House.

We have now come to the end of the two years during which the Democratic party have held control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive. There is no need whatever to show by language what the results have been; no words can add to the force of living facts. The immediate cause of the failure has been party dissension and party differences. The whole being unable to agree, the more violent have had the larger sway—modified, however, by the control given to conservative men by the small majority in the Senate. What would have happened had the new Postmaster-General and his friends held exclusive sway we shall happily never know. What we do know without that is sufficient.

Bad as the state of the country is, it might have been worse.

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But such as it is, there seems but little hope of rescue, so far as legislation may go, in the immediate future. Hence, it seems sensible for us to consider and treasure up in our minds certain simple facts. The expression of feeling in the country last autumn—deep, powerful and satisfactory as it was—must be remembered in its relations to our institutions. The will of the people, as to the party to which it has concluded to trust its future, has been expressed; but it has not yet been executed. Under our system of government there is no way in which even 130 majority in the House of Representatives can be made effectual outside the walls of the Chamber. It cannot overflow into the Senate, nor can it overpower the Executive. Whatever, therefore, is expected of it must be modified in the mind of every wise man by the conditions which, by the past votes of the American people, still remain in the Senate and in the White House. All these different and differing people must think together to be effectual. Where it is evident that they cannot think alike the differences can only be reconciled by the vote of the people when next comes to them the opportunity to rectify any of the mistakes of the past.

The great advantage of the last election, and perhaps the only advantage, is that a halt has been called to destructive legislation. We may hope, with some assurance, for nothing worse, even if we can expect nothing better.

THOMAS B. REED.

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THE FUTURE OF THE TORPEDO IN WAR.

BY ADMIRAL P. H. COLOMB, ROYAL NAVY.

SOME little time back* I wrote for this REVIEW a forecast of the future of the warship. Balancing, as I then did, amongst the various facts before me, I concluded that changes in motive powers and weapons were ostensibly the modifying forces at work, but that while the experience of the past was the best guide in dealing with their probable action, that taught us that mere fashion, the mere feeling of any time, was liable to overweigh the pure reason of problems and to assert itself. This fashion is, however, never supreme, because it is always uncertain in its action; and if a new weapon, or a new development of an existing weapon, appears in a striking light, fashion will often join *hands with the apparent reason of the thing, and create sudden* and almost revolutionary changes. Matters being in this condition, he who would forecast approaching changes must ever keep his eyes open to any new combination that arises, and must endeavor to regard its influence both from the reasonable and, if the word be permissible here, from the fashionable standpoint. I am going to take a view of the near future of the torpedo, which is comparatively new to my own mind, and may perhaps present subject-matter for new thought to those who pursue their business in the great waters of speculation as to naval war.

I seem to see that, by a series of apparently disjointed side issues, greatly influenced by the fashion of the moment, we are approaching an issue graver than any we have yet encountered since steam began to trouble the sublime repose of the old naval mind. I begin, with something of a startled feeling, to foresee the recrudescence of an idea widely spread ten years ago on the Continent, but since suppressed by the weight of indubitable

* October, 1893.

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fact. I begin to wonder whether the conditions are not altering so fast that the facts hostile to the idea are not being lifted off it, and whether it will not spring up again, no longer as a fashion of thinking, but as a question that must be seriously met.

We have to group together a series of new conditions independently developed without any view to a general conclusion, and we have to see whether, when they are so grouped, a tremendous and unexpected conclusion will not present itself. The conditions are entirely indisputable. They are: the great increase which has been recently given to the power, accuracy, speed, and range of the torpedo; the sudden rise of a large group of vessels which are named and being built as "torpedo-boat destroyers," which have an astonishing speed, and which are in reality a most powerful class of torpedo vessels; and lastly, the great size and cost of the latest battleships.

The torpedo was at first introduced as an auxiliary weapon in large warships. It represented a gun of immense power, but of very short range, and of inaccurate trajectory. It was a sort of glorified carronade, where the greater destructiveness was balanced by the shortness of its range and its bad shooting; and it was possible to debate over its real value on somewhat the same lines as those on which our forefathers debated over the large calibered short-range carronade, compared with the small calibered great range "long" gun. About the terrible power of the torpedo when exploded against a ship's bottom there was never any doubt. It would open a chasm through which one might—to use the familiar simile—drive a coach and horses. Even when the charge of gun-cotton in the head of the torpedo was only 60 pounds, which was the case ten years ago, it was but barely possible by interior arrangements of air spaces and coal barriers to restrict the inflow of water, after such a catastrophe, to quantities short of being fatal. But now, when the 18-inch torpedo carries 190 pounds of gun-cotton, I suppose that all hopes of such special defences must be abandoned. If a ship does not quickly sink after such a blow, it will be by favor of the multicellular system of construction, which, in the cases of the *Howe* and the *Victoria*, have recently and sadly disappointed us. A short time ago a system of strong wire netting, extended by spars thirty feet from the hull, was supposed to offer fair protection from the blow of a torpedo to a ship at anchor. This appears to be all over. Tor-

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pedoes can be furnished with instruments which enable them to cut their way through any netting without premature explosion, and afterwards to explode against the ship's bottom.

If the torpedo had been restricted to the position of an auxiliary weapon in the battleship, it could scarcely have had more effect on construction than to keep down the size of the ships so as to diminish the total risk, and, on tactics, than to keep fleets far apart in battle, each side trusting that it might win with the gun only. Undoubtedly neither side would at first care to run tremendous risks that they could not control, and which were quite as likely to be against them as against their adversary. The exception would be that the originally weaker force, or the force which was finding itself being beaten in the gun fight, might turn to the torpedo in a desperate hope. The commander of such a force might argue that he could not be worse off than he was, and that the chances—perhaps the even chances—of the torpedo might enable him to sell the victory dearly if he did not win it. But in this case the superior or winning force would strain every nerve to avoid a torpedo battle.

But almost from the first it was seen that an ordinary steam pinnace, carrying a torpedo on each side ready for launching, was a full match for the most powerful and costly warship ever heard of, if only she could get within the 200 or 300 yards of her which limited effective torpedo range. The American Civil War had familiarised the naval world with ideas of secret and silent night attacks using explosives against the sides of too secure and careless adversaries. The locomotive torpedo offered an almost infinite field for this sort of warlike ingenuity and daring, and the thoughts of all were full of it. There is some difficulty in tracing exactly the connection of ideas between this particular form of attack, and the construction of light and fragile vessels of very high speed to carry it out. I do not recall clearly whether any reasoned demand for such a vessel as the *Lightning* was the cause of her construction, or whether, being constructed on an outside and instinctive view of the situation, she became the cause, and not the effect, of naval views. Here she was, however, as far back as 1877, only three or four years after the torpedo itself had secured a position. She was fragile in hull beyond the dreams of naval architecture. Displacing 27 tons, and being 84 feet in length, she was too large to be called a

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boat and too small to be called a ship; but she could discharge a missile capable of destroying any ship afloat at a blow, and she possessed the then enormous speed of 19 knots an hour.

What did she mean exactly? Did she mean the same to the dominant naval nation as to such as were sub-dominant? Was she a threat to British naval power, or did she enhance it? How was British naval power going to fit her into its policy and programme? The new vessel had certain disabilities. She was scarcely sea-going. She was certainly not sea-keeping. To use a phrase which her type gave rise to, but which it is an anachronism to employ as respecting her alone, her "radius of action" was short; she could not operate at any great distance from her mother-port. But for sub-dominant nations the role of the *Lightning* type was clearer. Costing a mere trifle, exposing to hazard the lives of not more than a dozen or 15 men, and yet being a solid threat against the life of a battleship costing half a million of money, and against the lives of the five or six hundred men embarked in her, the new vessel was eminently qualified to prevent the blockade of her mother-port, and to compel all ordinary warships of the enemy to keep their distance. All the Continental nations forthwith began to build multitudes of improved *Lightnings*. They were generally larger, with greater speed, and with longer radii of action as a consequence of improved coal supply and economy of consumption. Their force was also increased by additional torpedo tubes and a larger reserve of torpedoes.

Not altogether willingly, England in 1878-9 built a few improved *Lightnings*. Ripening opinion claimed that long before she could be driven to employ the new torpedo-boats to raise the blockade of her home ports, she must have been on her knees, suing for an ignominious peace. But granting—which was not so easy—that high speed was necessary for the success of secret and silent night attacks upon enemy's ships within their ports, England thought that she found a more congruous outlet for the new idea, in building smaller *Lightnings* which she called "Second Class torpedo-boats." These were only 60 feet long, they weighed only 15 tons, they steamed only 15 or 16 knots, but they carried 2 torpedo tubes and could be hoisted into the battle-ships like any other boats, carried thus off the enemy's ports, hoisted out and sent in on their destructive errands on the blackest and therefore most suitable of nights.

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As to the original connection of high speed and torpedo night attack, I have observed that it was not obvious, and perhaps rested more upon fashion than upon argument. The last thing that any one would do who proposed to attack a ship in a torpedo boat under cover of darkness would be to approach her at speed. The noise of the engines and of the rush of water might make her approach audible; the flame from the short funnel, which always showed itself when a boat was at speed, as well as the white foam at the bow, would certainly make her approach visible. Such an advance upon the enemy put an end to all ideas of secrecy and surprise. Reasonably, the great speed of the torpedo boat in a night attack could only come into play either in a desperate rush in after premature discovery, or in a frantic flight after the discharge of a torpedo within distance. But still there is an unreasoned feeling drawing together the ideas of extreme daring and extreme speed which may have been the original promoter of the topedo-boat ideal. But now that the first and second class boats with those exceptionally high speeds existed, and rôles for each class were found, the *raison d'être* of the latter began to establish itself. For the second-class boat, hoisted out, it might be, at a distance from the port she was about to attack, a speedy run in was necessary if the work was to be done in possibly short hours of darkness. She might require her highest speed to run in, though she might drop to her lowest on drawing more near to her quarry. For the first-class torpedo boat, issuing from port to threaten and drive off a blockading fleet of battleships or cruisers, the highest speed was a mere necessity. Such a threatened fleet or squadron would never dare to rest and await the attack of foes as insignificant as they were deadly. There was but one thing to be done, namely, for the warships to turn their sterns to the topedo boats and, while thus flying at their highest speed, to pour from their sterns the heaviest possible stream of comparatively light missiles, every one of which would be effective on the fragile hull or on the exposed crew of a torpedo-boat, if it struck. The pursued would desire, by superior speed, to keep the pursuers under fire till either its physical effect put them *hors de combat*, or its moral effect destroyed the will to advance. The pursuers, on their side, would in any case desire to press the speed, because the further they drove the enemy in any given

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time, the better for the opening of the port behind them; while, if they could actually reach torpedo-range before the ship's fire could check them, their highest aim would be achieved; they would fight, and perhaps win, a torpedo battle.

The building and improvement of the first-class topedo boats went on; lavishly on the Continent, grudgingly and intermittently in England, though she found a place for some of them as defenders of her distant outlying war ports. The nominally vast superiority of the speed of the boat over that of the ship maintained itself, and it was scarcely possible that the picture painted above, of a fleet of battleships driven to fly before a group of mere wasps, should not be developed. If men were brave enough to press on their torpedo-boats in such a pursuit at night-time, and if it was uncertain whether or not they might win in the course of it, was it so impossible to do the same thing in broad daylight? Great numbers of these boats could be assembled for such a concentrated attack. The money risk and the life risk would be as nothing to that involved in assembling the orthodox fleet. Were heavy war-ships doomed from henceforth never to approach an enemy's port with hostile intentions? But, if this were so, would the area of operatious be limited to the immediate vicinity of ports? The sea-going and sea-keeping qualities of the torpedo-boat were being continually improved. The theatre of European naval war was, after all, restricted. Could not torpedo-boats take and hold the command of it? Then followed a thought delightful to those of our Continental neighbors who, for one reason or another, desired that British predominance at sea should determine. Several writers showed how, by a series of hypothetical cases, the British fleet must utterly disappear before the attacks of the Continental torpedo-boats. It was not suggested that two could play at the game. England was to stick to her orthodox fleets and lose; Continental powers were to adopt the heterodox torpedo-boat flotillas and win.

Experiment, consideration, and a more practical acquaintance with the tricks and manners of the first-class torpedo-boat checked these extreme ideas. It was found that the fire of the machine gun, when tried upon the hull of a dummy torpedo-boat, had such a severe effect that no boat and no men could be expected to sustain it for any time. It was found that the

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sea speed and the measured mile speed of the boat differed considerably. Comparatively slow vessels at sea could gain upon torpedo-boats; nominally swift torpedo-boats made no hand at catching up the orthodox warship. French admirals taking torpedo-boats to sea with them as a presumed necessary adjunct of their battle-fleet, found they were of more trouble than they were worth, and sent them ignominiously home again. Worse indeed than this. The French found that a considerable class of their torpedo-boats could not discharge a torpedo at all when they were steaming against a sea.

So far, then, as operations in the open sea were concerned, the torpedo boat, and the torpedo with her, fell back some paces to her first position, while it was made evident that she must be improved even to hold the position of a preventer of blockade. She must be made more capable of retaining her speed in a seaway; she must not fail in the discharge of her torpedo while at speed in a high sea. France and other nations, but France especially, proceeded with the building of a larger class of torpedo boats, which became first class, while she relegated all the earlier boats to a lower status. She also began to build what she called sea-going torpedo boats. They weighed perhaps 150 tons, they were 140 or 150 feet long, they started with a speed of 20 knots, which was running up to 25, they carried three or four torpedo tubes and a gun armament of two or three three-pounders, they accommodated crews of 25 or 30 men, and were perhaps sea-keeping as well as sea-going vessels. At any rate they were intended to take that position, as opposed to the enemy's battleships, which their forerunners had failed to take.

In England it was impossible to ignore the position created for her by the possibly hostile swarms of torpedo-boats, especially by those immediately across the channel. If these torpedo-boats were efficient for operating against ships in the vicinity of their ports, was it not clear that if they had coal enough they could cross the channel and operate with much more certainty at night against our ships in the home roadsteads and accessible ports? A strong section of naval men fixed their minds steadily on the conception that, if nothing was done to hinder it, the outbreak of war between France and England would be heralded by a tremendous rush of French torpedo-boats across the channel, and a vast destruction of British warships in port on the night after

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the declaration of war. There was reason in it. No southern British port was beyond the radius of action of the French torpedo-boats, and France fostered the English feeling by establishing all along her channel coast special torpedo-boat stations in which issuing boats left nothing behind them requiring defence, and could therefore only issue for purposes of attack. And then there was another point. If these torpedo boats were capable of preventing close blockade of enemy's ports, they opened the door for the issue of commerce destroyers, and they might themselves become commerce destroyers. What would be the British position then ?

It was felt that the situation was really serious. There were strong comments by the public, but not by the naval public, on the meagre show of British first-class torpedo boats as compared with the Continental swarms. But the authorities, and most of the experts, felt strongly that the ordinary first-class torpedo boat was not an answer to her fellow across the water. Looking at the double necessity of blockade, a class of sea-keeping vessel was required by England, which might, by her small size, minimize the dangers of torpedo attack ; might by the character of her gun-armament be a strong, if not a conclusive, threat to the torpedo boat proper; and might herself carry such a torpedo armament as would make her even more efficient for that kind of attack than an ordinary torpedo boat. It was essential that such vessels should have high speed.

The result of these cogitations was the production in 1886-7 of the first of the so-called "torpedo-gun-boats," the *Rattlesnake*, *Grasshopper*, *Sandfly* and *Spider*. These were vessels of 525 tons, 200 feet long, intended to steam 19 knots with coal enough to carry them 2,400 miles at 10 knots. Their gun armament was 1 4-in. gun and 6 3-pounders, and they had 2 torpedo tubes. Being considered not wholly successful after trial, supposed improvements were made in the nine vessels of the *Sharpshooter* class, launched in 1888-9. These ships were rather larger, intended to be rather faster, with an armament altered in the direction of increased number of heavier with decreased number of lighter guns of reduced calibre, and considerable increase of torpedo power. It is not exactly clear to one who has nothing to say to the initiation of these things, why the next group of vessels, embodying the same ideas, and apparently designed to fulfil

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the same functions, should have been simply larger than the last group. But while the *Sharpshooter* class were of 735 tons, the 11 ships of the *Jason* class, produced in 1892-3, were 810 tons, with the same torpedo and gun armament as their predecessors, and with at least no greater speed. It is said that the last result is simply a boiler failure, but we are not concerned to debate the question, as the five ships of the *Dryad* class now built and building have followed up the increase in size to 1,070 tons without increase of speed, though with some increase in coal capacity and weight of metal, balanced by a reduction in torpedo power.

Judging from the characteristics of these vessels, their rôle was especially that of the blockaders of enemy's ports. They might draw off to sea in the daytime, and close in at night, making their torpedoes an effective threat against the issue of battleships and cruisers, while their guns—especially their lighter ones—might be held an effective threat against the issue of torpedo boats. Though there are anomalies in these vessels that I cannot explain, and though I fail to understand how it has come to pass—unless fashion put her hand in—that we have doubled the size of them since we began; yet I think they would go far towards filling their place in war if they should be unhappily ever put to it. They have never been tried as blockaders, but it must be admitted that, as opposed to torpedo boats in the open sea, general, and especially torpedo-expert, opinion has strongly condemned them. They have not shown the speed for successful pursuit of the first-class torpedo boat; the commanders of torpedo-boats which have encountered them in mimic war despise the power of their armament. But on this point it must be said that all over the naval world, commanders of torpedo-boats have always despised the gunfire of their orthodox adversaries. In every encounter the torpedo-boat claims to win, and rejects with scorn the equally strong claim of the battleship or cruiser to have destroyed her.

We must note that none of these torpedo-gunboats has been designed to attack battleships in open fight. That idea is in England, and perhaps always has been, unauthoritative. The vessels took up the popular title of "torpedo-catchers," as the short for "torpedo-boat catchers," and are condemned only because it is believed they cannot catch torpedo-boats. It is scarcely noted of them that in fulfilling their function of blockaders, it is

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more a question of whether the enemy's torpedo-boats would attempt to run past them, than whether they were competent to catch the boats after they had run past. But these are points we have not space to enter into; what we have to note is that these vessels are defensive, not offensive, like the French sea-going torpedo boats, and that they do not influence the tactical question so far.

But all the torpedo-boat experts in England became distinctly bitter against the whole tribe of these torpedo-gunboats. There was a loud expert outcry in the press which seemed to declare that the torpedo-boat was the only answer to the torpedo-boat, and to swell the demand of the inexpert public that our ports should swarm with torpedo-boats as those of France did. It now appears that this was not the real demand; but yielding to it, the Government of 1892-3 promised 10 first-class torpedo-boats of superior size, speed, and power; boats of 140 feet in length, of 130 tons displacement, and of 23 or 24 knots speed. But this was still not exactly what was wanted. Counsels not disclosed to the public were given and accepted, and in the estimates of 1893-4 an entirely new type was promised, to be called "torpedo-boat destroyers," with a guaranteed speed of no less than 27 knots. The first of the new class, the *Havock*, was tried a few months ago, and reached 26.78 knots speed; the second, the *Hornet*, was tried last February, and steamed 28 knots; the third, the *Daring*, tried only the other day, ran on the 23d of June at the astonishing speed of 29.3 knots, the speed, it has been said, of an ordinary railway train.

These vessels are 180 feet long, and displace 220 tons; they have fair accommodation for 42 men, and they cost about £35,000 apiece. Forty-two of them have been ordered. What strikes me about them most of all, after their astonishing swiftness, is the fact that though called "torpedo-boat destroyers," they are more distinctly torpedo-boats, pure and simple, than anything yet seen. They are to have 5 torpedo tubes, while their gun armament is not significant. They carry one 12-pounder and three 6-pounders, with a possibility of mounting two more of the latter. But five torpedo-tubes on a displacement of 220 tons assuredly means torpedo warfare, and not anti-torpedo-boat warfare; and the fact brings us face to face with the *denouement*, all undesigned, as I believe it to be.

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We have seen how some ten years ago the idea of the torpedo-boat becoming the master of the battleship took root, flourished, and withered. We know that it withered not because of inherent absurdity, but because the torpedo-boat of that day was really neither sea-going nor sea-keeping, and above all had not sufficient speed to enable her to make sure of closing on a battleship or cruiser quickly enough to run safely through the storm of her gun-fire. The class of torpedo-boats being built abroad has been such as to get over these disabilities, and apparently our new class of torpedo-boat destroyers, already being followed up on the Continent, seems to place them out of question. What, then, is to prevent the successful attack—even in broad daylight—of these new torpedo-boats on battleships?

If our torpedo-boat commanders are right, the gun-fire of battleships is less to be feared than was supposed. In any case it is a question—for the open attack—of speed of approach. When the question was mooted before, the stern fight which the battleship was to offer was expected to either prevent all advance of torpedo boats, or else to make it so slow that the guns would have the best of it. But now we have the torpedo boat in all ordinary weather probably with an excess of speed over our fastest battleships of perhaps ten knots, over others of fourteen knots. Gun-fire cannot be very effective over 2,000 yards at sea. If the torpedo-boat destroyers can maintain their speed as well as the fastest battleships at sea, then they can, in pursuing a battle fleet, run through its fire, and be amongst it in six minutes. Should such a fleet contain within it a fourteen-knot ship, and be unwilling to abandon her, then the torpedo boats will run through the fire of the ships in perhaps 4¼ minutes. But the boats would not require to run close up. They would be more likely to manœuvre so as to surround a battle fleet and to take up positions in advance of it, all beyond effective gun-fire range. The closing in to perhaps 400 yards or so would then be much more rapid and therefore much more secure for the torpedo boats. It is not easy to see why such attacks should not be made; it is most difficult to see how battleships could guard against them.

We must remember what an immense target the most modern battleship now offers to the torpedo. An underwater area of 390 feet by 27 feet ought to be easy to hit at 400 yards even

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allowing for all difficulties in estimating speeds. But a torpedo set for 800 yards and fired into a group of battleships is like a shot into a covey of partridges. If one is not hit, another may be. Then we must note the enormous disadvantage under which a battle fleet lies in point of cost and exposure of life when compared with a torpedo-boat flotilla. In cost the battleship must be 24 to 1, in exposure of life from 12 to 15 to 1. How could a 17½-knot *Magnificent* deal with twelve 28-knot *Darings*?

These are striking and startling antitheses, yet a more striking point remains. In the very strength and height of the cry for battleships, the British navy has given them up, and had done so even before these astonishing feats of speed had been performed. There had long been a vague sort of feeling that the British battleship was not able to protect herself, but Commander Sturdee, in his prize essay on naval tactics, has nowhere been attacked for laying it down that every battleship must henceforth be accompanied by a torpedo boat-destroyer "to protect her."

We have, therefore, dropped from the clouds into a staggering position on the sea. We could not possibly have meant it, or we should have held our hand over the production of battleships in such an insecure position. If our battle-fleets are open to the sort of attack we have described, and if they are incapable of withstanding it, will an enemy make any other sort of attack? But if our battleships are not going to meet battleships, what is the use of sending them to sea? Note what a series of knock-down blows we receive when we contemplate the conditions of tactics set out. We are to send a battle fleet to sea in order at least to keep the enemy's battle fleet in port. But we are so sure that the enemy can beat our battle fleet without using a single battleship, that we are going to send out a second fleet of torpedo-boat-destroyers to take care of the first fleet of battleships. But surely if it is the enemy's torpedo boats that we fear, there is no object in sending the first fleet to sea at all. If we kept the battle fleet in port, dismantled, and only sent the torpedo flotilla to sea, the enemy's battle fleet will never quit port to expose itself to destruction by a flotilla we all admit it cannot face. It is our torpedo flotilla that is holding the command of the sea, and the enemy must fit out an anti-torpedo flotilla—which we admit the battle fleet is not—in order to beat it.

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I cannot as yet sound the depths of these staggering considerations. I can understand how, in land war, infantry may be employed to protect artillery without placing artillery in the position of a useless arm. But I cannot yet see how the torpedo-boat destroyer can be necessary to protect the battleship, and yet have the latter as a necessary arm. Battle fleets are not necessary elements of an army, such as batteries of artillery are. They are the army itself. If one side brings a force of battleships and torpedo-boat destroyers into the field because of the admitted weakness of the former, I cannot conceive an enemy also bringing the weaker element of force into the field. It seems to me he is compelled to endeavor by superiority of torpedo-boat destroyers to first beat those of the enemy, and then to defeat the unprotected battle fleet with his victorious torpedo flotilla. Such are the issues raised by the trials of the *Daring*. I think I am right in calling them momentous.

P. H. Colomb.

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TWO YEARS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

BY SENATOR GEORGE GRAY, OF DELAWARE.

SENATOR DAVIS, in his article entitled "Two Years of Democratic Diplomacy," declares that the "conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has not reflected honor upon this country." Reading the title and the declaration together, there seems to be an implication that there is a certain brand of diplomacy known as Democratic Diplomacy, which is bad, and another brand known as Republican Diplomacy, which is good. I am unable to admit the existence of such a distinction. But, as an American citizen, equally interested with the distinguished Senator in the honor of the country, I comply with the request of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW to examine his thesis and the arguments by which he has endeavored to support it.

It is argued that the Administration was derelict in admitting the complaint of the German Government against the discriminating duty of one-tenth of a cent a pound imposed on sugars from countries (among which is Germany) that pay a bounty on their exportations; and it is said that such an admission can be sustained only by "special pleading." Whether this charge is well founded is a question not difficult to determine. Our treaty with Prussia, concluded in 1828, not only provides (Article IX.) that neither nation shall grant to any third nation any "favor" in navigation or commerce which shall not immediately become common to the other, but it also provides (Article V.) that neither nation shall impose on the importation of any article the produce or manufacture of the other, any "higher or other duties" than shall be payable "on the like article being the produce or manufacture of any other foreign country." These two clauses, which occur in different articles, though often referred to as securing

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"most-favored-nation" treatment, are yet distinct; and it is in consequence of failing to observe this distinction between them, that Senator Davis is led to argue that the treaty does not prevent the imposition of discriminating duties, but only the concession of "special and isolated favors." When writers, in construing the most-favored-nation clause, have spoken of it as comprehending only favors or privileges, they have referred to the first clause above quoted, and not the second. Not even "special pleading" can make a prohibition of "special and isolated favors" and a prohibition of discriminating duties mean one and the same thing.

For this reason the recent opinion of the Attorney-General as to the duty on German salt, to which Senator Davis refers as decisive of the question of the sugar bounty, has no bearing on that question. The law imposes a duty on salt from countries which levy a duty on American salt, and grants free admission to salt from countries which admit American salt free of duty. This statute offers a favor on a certain condition. The treaty with Prussia contemplates just such a case, when it provided (Article IX.) that any "favor" granted by either party to another nation shall immediately become common to the other party, "freely, where it is freely granted . . . , or on yielding the same compensation, when the grant is conditional." Germany can secure the "favor" of the free admission of her salt into the United States, by paying "the same compensation" as other nations are required to pay for the privilege, namely, the free admission of American salt. The Attorney-General so held, and it was the only question before him.

What possible bearing can this decision have on the case of a law that imposes upon a certain article, besides the regular duty, an additional and discriminating duty, when such article comes from a country that pays a bounty on its exportation? Bounties, like protective duties, are intended to stimulate domestic industry. They may alike operate to the disturbance of production and manufacture in other countries; but they are considered as measures within the competence of independent governments, and, so long as they are uniform, are not treated as constituting national discriminations. A government no more places itself in a hostile attitude toward foreign countries by adopting one of these measures than it does by adopting the other. As between

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the two the bounty is the more generous, since it cheapens goods to the people of foreign countries, and enables them to live more or less at the expense of the bounty-paying country.

Senator Davis says that, if the view taken by the administration be correct, "the power of Congress to legislate in matters of revenue and internal concern can be suspended, impaired, or destroyed by the exercise of the treaty-making power." This is to a certain extent true, but it is not a novel idea. All our commercial treaties have more or less diminished the freedom of action, legislative as well as executive, of the contracting parties. It was with that design that they were made—a fact of which the provision against the laying of discriminating duties is itself conclusive evidence. Discrimination is a game at which two can play. If we would have others abstain, we must engage to abstain also.

In reality, the effort made to save the discriminating duty imposed on sugars from bounty-paying countries is only another of the desperate attempts, of which we have seen so many on the part of protected interests, to maintain their grasp on the pockets of the American people without regard to the nature of the obstacle, whether it be the will of the people or a treaty obligation. Senator Davis, therefore, with great appropriateness, closes the commercial branch of his argument by lamenting the repeal of the misnamed "reciprocity" clause of the McKinley act—a clause under which retaliation was to be dealt out to countries whose tariffs, when compared with our own, should be found, as the clause most truthfully said, to be "reciprocally unequal and unjust." The best Senator Davis can say for it is that its results, during the "short period" of its existence, "were most encouraging." The present competent chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department says, that its "most apparent effect" seems to have been "the restriction of the natural tendency to trade." Under it so-called treaties of varying quality and diverse operation were made as to Brazil, Cuba and Porto Rico, four small Central American States (Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador), the Dominican Republic, and certain minor British possessions. In 1892 retaliatory proclamations were issued against Colombia, Venezuela, and Hayti, with all of which countries our trade immediately fell off to a large amount. From Venezuela alone our imports, which were chiefly of coffee

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and hides, in two years declined in value to the extent of more than $8,000,000, while our exports to that country, which had for years been steadily growing, fell from $4,716,047, in 1891, to $3,991,908, in 1892. With Colombia, besides our loss of trade, we became involved in a treaty controversy in which I regret to say that our Government did not appear to advantage. While our exports to Brazil from the year 1889, two years before "reciprocity," to 1893, two years after "reciprocity," increased in value up to $3,000,000, yet from 1891 to 1893 they declined about $1,700,000. From Cuba our imports of sugar and molasses showed an increase in keeping with the decrease in our importations of those articles from other quarters, and our exports also increased. Indeed, so far as the arrangements were framed on the sound democratic doctrine of liberalizing the conditions of trade, trade increased. But, the result of their operation showed not only that they were to a great extent worthless for that purpose, but also that the retaliatory attachment with which they were operated worked most injuriously.

It is said that "the proceedings of the present administration respecting Hawaii form a composite of blunders, cruelty and usurpation." As in the case of the discriminating sugar duty, the facts are stronger than epithets and refute this charge.

More than fifty years ago the government of the United States, acting upon what was then understood to be an American doctrine, recognized the native government of Hawaii "*as a government suited to the condition of the people, and resting on their own choice.*" Not only were we the first to take that step, but we insisted that other Powers should respect the independence which we had acknowledged. Such was our traditional and honorable policy. This policy in January and February, 1893, was suddenly reversed. In the closing weeks of President Harrison's administration, the country was startled by the news that the established government of the Hawaiian Islands had been overthrown by a revolution in the city of Honolulu. The steamer that brought this news brought also to the country commissioners from a so-called Provisional Government, tendering a treaty of annexation to the United States. While people were inquiring with wonder how this revolution could have been accomplished without premonition, and without the firing of a shot, President Harrison sent to the Senate for ratification a treaty concluded by

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him with these Commissioners, providing for the incorporation of the islands into, and as a part of, the United States.

By the documents which accompanied the President's message it for the first time appeared, after they had been printed and considered, that United States Minister Stevens and the forces landed from the ship-of-war *Boston* had been to some extent, but to how large an extent could not then be known, active in deposing the Queen. It appeared that the deposition occurred January 17, 1893 ; that the Commissioners to the United States were appointed January 18, and sailed for San Francisco January 19, and that they communicated their arrival in Washington by a letter to Secretary Foster, dated February 3. The treaty of annexation was concluded February 14, and sent to the Senate February 15. This indecent haste did not meet with the response that was demanded of the Senate. The country knew nothing, and could know nothing, of the circumstances surrounding the transaction, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, given pause by the significant and suspicious intimations gathered from the official documents referred to, declined to act on the treaty before the close of the session on the ensuing 4th of March, though urged by the then Secretary of State to immediate action. This caution on the part of the committee was amply vindicated by subsequent information.

President Cleveland, immediately after his inauguration, was confronted with this situation. There was more than enough in the facts, as disclosed by the papers, to put him upon inquiry as to how far the honor and good name of the United States might be involved in this unusual and precipitate proceeding. He accordingly withdrew the treaty, without prejudice, for further investigation. To properly inform himself of the situation, before and after the overthrow of the established government in those distant islands, it was absolutely necessary that he should send there a trusted agent, to see with his eyes and hear with his ears what the President could not see and hear with his own. His choice fell upon the Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia. No better selection could have been made. Mr. Blount had just retired from public life, after twenty years of honorable and useful public service in the House of Representatives, with a testimonial from his colleagues as to his character and worth, such as has been rarely accorded to a public man. Within the limits of

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this article, we can only refer the reader to the instructions given to Special Commissioner Blount by the Secretary of State, and the report made by him to the Secretary, after patient and intelligent investigation, extending through four months.

From the testimony thus collected, largely from those concerned in the *emeute*, it abundantly appears that the overthrow of the established government was accomplished by an understanding between the conspirators and United States Minister Stevens, by which resistance on the part of the government was prevented by a demonstration of the naval and military forces of the United States. By this means the Queen was induced to surrender. This she did in a formal paper signed by her, and received and filed by the President of the Provisional Government, without comment or dissent. In this she says, among other things:

"I yield to the superior force of the United States of America, whose Minister Plenipotentiary, His Excellency, John L. Stevens, has caused United States troops to be landed at Honolulu, and declared that he would support the said provisional government."

The "Committee of Safety," consisting of the thirteen managers of the "revolution" (seven of whom were Americans), and who, on January 17, proclaimed the Provisional Government, on the 16th, the day before, sent a letter, signed by themselves, to United States Minister Stevens, in which they say:

"We appeal to you and the United States forces at your command for assistance. . . . We are unable to protect ourselves without aid, and therefore pray for the protection of the United States forces."

This appeal was promptly responded to, and the forces were landed from the United States ship, *Boston*, that afternoon. The next day, January 17, after the proclamation of the Provisional Government, a communication was sent to Minister Stevens, signed Sanford B. Dole, "Chairman Executive Committee," which, after stating that demand had been made upon the ministers of the Queen to surrender, concludes in this remarkable fashion:

"We request the immediate support of the United States forces, and would request that the Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces take command of our military forces, so that they may act together for the protection of the city."

Some days after this transaction another appeal was made by

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President Dole and other officers of the Provisional Government to Minister Stevens, in which they

> "Pray that you (he) will raise the flag of the United States for the protection of the Hawaiian Islands for the time being."

To this appeal Minister Stevens responded by raising the United States flag over the government building, and occupying the same with United States sailors and marines. This was continued for three months, and until the flag was removed and the troops withdrawn by Special Commissioner Blount. It is hard to conceive how the testimony and documentary evidence in the case could be examined by a patriotic American, without having the conclusion forced upon him, that the honor and good name of his country had been seriously compromised by the occurrences of January, 1893, in the Hawaiian Islands.

The trouble has been that this evidence has been too voluminous to be read by the general public, and the opportunity has thus been made to prepossess the public mind with biased and partisan views in the interest of the annexation conspirators.

Let any honest and fair-minded American examine this evidence, or at least read President Cleveland's message of December 18, 1893, and ask himself wherein the President was wrong in regard to this shameful business, when he says:

> "I mistake the American people, if they favor the odious doctrine that there is no such thing as international morality, that there is one law for a strong nation, and another for a weak one, and that even by indirection a strong power may, with impunity, despoil a weak one of its territory."

It is charitable to believe that if President Harrison had possessed all the information disclosed by the investigation set on foot by President Cleveland, the treaty of annexation would never have been concluded by him in such hot haste.

We are told that President Cleveland could no more reconsider his predecessor's recognition of the Provisional Government of Hawaii than he could reconsider the recognition of the Republic in France or in Brazil. But the cases are not parallel. The prior governments in France and Brazil were overthrown by citizens of those countries, not by the naval forces of the United States; our recognition of the new governments was not obtained by false assurances; and they claimed to possess and to exercise the ordinary attributes of governments. The Provisional Government of Hawaii, on the other hand, presented the extraordinary spectacle

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of a temporary, revolutionary, self-constituted committee, gotten up for the sole and avowed purpose of handing over the country to another power, and of thus depriving it of its independence. Moreover, the Queen's submission was secured with the understanding that the matter should be heard and determined by the Government of the United States. Mr. Damon, the Vice-President of the Provisional Government, who was sent to obtain her abdication, says so. The Queen herself so declares in her protest, which "S. B. Dole, Esq., and others composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian Islands," to whom it was addressed, received without criticism or dissent.

Every impulse springing from sensitive regard for his country's honor and fair fame, must have constrained President Cleveland to seek how he might undo the wrong that had been done this feeble people under the sanction of the power and name of the United States. That he did so seek, will remain an enduring credit to his administration. If there were wanting an example of civil courage and conscientious discharge of high public duty, the conduct of President Cleveland in the Hawaiian episode, in the face of popular clamor, excited by truculent misrepresentations and partisan denunciation, would furnish it. The responsibility for the stain on this page of American history must now rest with Congress.

Senator Davis charges the Administration with exhibiting a "malign disposition" in ordering the U. S. S. *Philadelphia* away from Honolulu "against the warnings of a most competent officer, which subsequent events justified with the accuracy of the fulfillment of prophecy." The officer referred to is Admiral Walker. The "subsequent events," as detailed by Senator Davis, are that "an English vessel, which had been a smuggler of Chinese into the United States and of opium into Hawaii, was chartered for the kindred work of smuggling arms from a British port into Hawaii to aid a royalist insurrection," and that a "revolt took place" in which "American citizens and property were endangered." Senator Davis says that the departure of the *Philadelphia* was "the signal and occasion for rebellion." It appears, however, that Admiral Walker was ordered away from Honolulu on July 20, last; the revolt took place on the 6th of the following January. From the time of his arrival at Honolulu, on April 18, Admiral Walker reported nothing but peace

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and order. On July 12, he wrote: "The Royalists must accept the republic or attempt a counter-revolution by physical force, and of such an attempt there is no probability whatever." His "warnings," which were written at sea on August 17, while he was on his way to the United States, related solely to the spectre of British intervention. As to the effect of the entire withdrawal of foreign men-of-war upon affairs in the Islands, he declared that it would be "not unfavorable to order and security," and that "leading members of the Government and others" were "strongly of this opinion" and had expressed "satisfaction with the prospect of being left for a time entirely alone." Judged by the event, the Admiral's gift of prophecy, with which Senator Davis is so deeply impressed, is yet to be demonstrated. A revolt ultimately occurred, but there was no British ship and no British intervention. Even the arms, as it now turns out, were shipped from San Francisco on an American vessel. And after the revolt was over, President Dole expressed to our minister at Honolulu his gratification that no national ship was present during the disturbance, as it gave his Government "an opportunity to prove its ability to take care of itself, which if once done would probably insure permanent peace."

Senator Davis finds further evidence of a "malign disposition" in the recommendation made by President Cleveland, at the request of the Hawaiian Government, that our treaty with that country be so modified as to permit the lease of either Necker Island, French Frigate Shoals, or Bird Island to the British Government as a station for a cable from Canada to Australia. Perhaps we shall all regret, when the Hawaiian frenzy has passed away, that such a simple request was not granted. The islands in question are small uninhabited rocks. Necker Island, which lies midway between the other two, was described by Admiral Walker in April last as "a very small islet, about 270 miles" distant from the Hawaiian "group"; and he said that, while it had always been claimed by Hawaii, "no one had actually landed there and taken possession, owing to the difficulty of landing." Senator Davis sees in this matter an attempt on the part of Great Britain to "install herself on one of the (Hawaiian) Islands," and declares that "it is not correct to say that Hawaii desires it." The Hawaiian Government, however, sought to effect it, expressed a confident belief that the Hawaiian legislature would liberally

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subsidize a branch cable to Honolulu, and spoke of the "great and unquestioned importance to the country" of such an opportunity. It seems unnecessary to argue this subject further.

The next proof of the badness of "Democratic Diplomacy" is described as "the delivery to China by this Government of the two Japanese students at Shanghai, and their decapitation at Nankin." We are told that "the blood of these youths is on our hands." Indeed, Senator Davis says "it is difficult to discuss this abominable transaction with moderation." Perhaps a plain and simple presentation of the law and the facts, will show that the distinguished Senator has found it not only difficult but impossible to do so.

In July last, when hostilities between China and Japan became imminent, our diplomatic representatives at Pekin and Tokio were instructed respectively, to afford their "friendly offices" for the protection of Japanese subjects in China and of Chinese subjects in Japan. The function with which they were thus clothed, in accordance with the wishes as well as with the consent of both those Governments, presented no new question. Our representatives in Mexico had discharged a similar function in behalf of Frenchmen and Belgians, in peace as well as in war; and our minister in France had assumed the protection of Germans during the Franco-German war. Moreover, our diplomatic and consular representatives had for many years extended protection to citizens of Switzerland in various countries, including China; and on July 25, 1872, the Department of State instructed our Minister at Pekin that "the protection referred to must necessarily be confined to the personal and unofficial good offices of such functionaries," that even this could "properly be done only with the consent of the Chinese Government," and that such consent "must not be allowed to imply an obligation on the part of a diplomatic or consular officer of the United States in that country to assume criminal or civil jurisdiction over Swiss citizens, or to make himself or his Government accountable for their acts."

The extra-territoriality—or exemption from the local law—which the citizens of certain foreign powers enjoy in China and Japan, rests solely upon the treaties and is measured by their terms. By the treaty between China and Japan, signed at Tientsin September 13, 1871, it was provided that a citizen of the one

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country, charged with an offense within the jurisdiction of the other, should, if at a port, "be tried by the local authority and the consul together"; but that he should, if in the interior, "be tried and dealt with by the local authority." Thus Chinese in Japan and Japanese in China, did not possess the complete exemption from the local law, which Americans and certain other foreigners enjoy in those countries.

The war, which was declared by Japan on August 1, having abrogated the treaty of Tientsin, the Japanese Government, by an Imperial ordinance of August 4, declared that Chinese in Japan, should thereafter be wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the Japanese civil and military authorities. It is superfluous to say that, as the provisions of the treaty of Tientsin were strictly reciprocal, the effect of its abrogation on the status of Japanese subjects in China, was necessarily the same as that upon the status of Chinese subjects in Japan. They became wholly subject to the jurisdiction of the local authorities.

On August 18 the Chinese Minister complained to Secretary Gresham that Mr. Jernigan, the Consul-General of the United States at Shanghai, was protecting Japanese spies. Inquiry of our *Chargé d'Affaires* at Pekin elicited the fact that on the 13th of the month the Consul-General of France at Shanghai had, at the instance of the Chinese authorities, caused two Japanese subjects to be arrested in the French concession, and, not deeming himself authorized to hold them, had delivered them over to the Consul-General of the United States; that, at the time of their arrest, they were "wearing Chinese clothing," and that "plans were found upon them"; and that, though they were charged with being spies, the United States Consul-General had refused to deliver them up. These circumstances, as well as the suggestion made by the *Chargé d'Affaires*, that the Consul-General should be ordered to examine the case with a "Chinese official present," seemed to indicate that our representatives in China were laboring under the impression, that they were somehow authorized to exercise criminal jurisdiction over Japanese subjects in China, according to the forms of the abrogated treaty of Tientsin, even where such subjects were charged with offenses against the laws of war. The Secretary of State, therefore, instructed the Legation that lending "good offices" did "not invest Japanese with extra-territoriality," and that neither

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the legation nor the consulates should be made asylums "for Japanese who violate local laws or commit belligerent acts"; that protection must be "exercised unofficially and consistently with neutrality"; and that the Consul-General should not have received the two Japanese and was "not authorized to hold them." On September 1 the *Chargé d'Affaires* at Peking directed the Consul-General to deliver the alleged spies to the Chinese authorities. With a view, however, to prevent any summary action, Secretary Gresham obtained from the Chinese minister a voluntary assurance—there being no authority to demand any other—that the men would not be tried till Colonel Denby, the Minister of the United States at Peking, who was then absent on leave in the United States, should return to his post. While this assurance was not kept, the trial of the men was postponed, and they were not executed till six weeks after their surrender.

On the 5th of September, the Legation of Japan in Washington declared, that the action of the Consul-General in delivering the men up "was entirely in conformity with the Japanese interpretation of the authority and power of neutral consuls in a belligerent country," and that, if the case were reversed, "Japan would not recognize the jurisdiction of any neutral consul over the suspect." This declaration was reaffirmed by the Legation on the 9th of September, with specific references to the Imperial Ordinance of the 4th of August. When, not long afterward, the new minister from Japan arrived in Washington, he stated that it was the opinion of his Government that neither the Consul-General at Shanghai, nor any other agent of the United States in China, was authorized to refuse the demand of the authorities. In October, Colonel Denby, our Minister to China, while on his return to his post after a leave of absence in the United States, had an interview with Viscount Mutsu, the Imperial Japanese Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who "emphatically repudiated the idea that American consuls could exercise jurisdiction over Chinese in Japan," and left the whole question, as Mr. Denby says, exactly as it has been ordered, both in China and in Japan.

Is it possible to doubt that, if this transaction were not viewed as a matter of "Democratic Diplomacy," the complete concurrence of all the Governments concerned, would be regarded as leaving absolutely no room for discussion, much less for criti-

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cism, as to the legality and propriety of what was done? Senator Davis speaks of the "right of asylum" and declares that the "presence (of the two Japanese) at the American Legation was not only rightful," but that "it had been invited by the arrangement for the protection by this Government of Japanese residents, to which China had assented." In these statements, however, the distinguished Senator is in error. The men were not in the American Legation, which is at Peking, but in the Consulate-General at Shanghai, which is not a diplomatic post; nor had there been any "arrangement" by which persons charged with offenses, and least of all with military offenses, were invited to seek asylum either in the legation or in the consulates. It appears that the understanding of all parties to the arrangement was just the reverse. The Consul-General had no right to grant asylum, or to act upon the theory, which Senator Davis suggests, that the case was to be treated as one of extradition. Had the case been so treated, there was evidence on which to justify surrender. But the men were not in the United States. They were in China, and, as the Japanese Government has itself declared, were subject to the action of the Chinese authorities.

Senator Davis also says that the Department of State "should have refused to deliver these men, upon the ground that they were not spies under any definition outside China"; that they "were not spies under any definition, even if their pockets had been found stuffed with military information"; and he quotes two definitions to the effect that a spy is a person who collects information "within the lines of an enemy" or "within the lines of one of the hostile armies." Our own statutes, however, provide (Act of March 3, 1863, *chap.* 75, *sec.* 38) that all persons who in time of war "shall be found lurking or acting as spies in or about any of the fortifications, posts, quarters, or encampments of any of the armies of the United States, or elsewhere," shall be triable by a military commission, and shall, upon conviction, suffer death; and by section 88 of the "Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field," a spy is defined as "a person who secretly in disguise, or under false pretense, seeks information with the intention of communicating it to the enemy." It has been seen not only that the two Japanese, who pretended to be simply students, were, when arrested, disguised in Chinese clothing, but that "plans were found

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upon them"; and Mr. Jernigan, in one of his despatches, says that some of the papers found in their possession "would naturally, in the state of war now existing, create a suspicion of a character tending to support the alleged charge." The Chinese Government states that, besides these evidences of guilt, the prisoners admitted, without torture, that they had been employed as spies in obtaining and transmitting to their Government by telegraph and otherwise, information useful in conducting military operations against China.

In regard to this case I have only one more observation to make. No sooner had the men been delivered up, than there began to appear in the public prints a succession of reports, whose evidently unauthentic and sensational character gave warning that the incident would not be permitted to perish for lack of dramatic treatment. It was at first announced that the prisoners were beheaded, apparently without trial, immediately after their surrender. When this was shown to be untrue, rumors of cruelty began to take place of reports of decapitation; and, toward the close of November, Mr. Julian Ralph, a popular writer for the press, published in *Harper's Weekly* a story of torture, which surpassed in horror all prior reports, and which was so minute in its details that it even specified the various methods and the duration of the torture and gave the last words of the victims. A few days afterward, however, when interrogated as to his authority for these statements, Mr. Ralph, as reported in the press, could only say: "The truth as to whether the men were horribly tortured or not rests with God and the Chinese. Everybody believed the stories when I was in China." It appears, therefore, that the story so dramatically told had precisely the same basis—that of common rumor—as previous reports in respect of which Mr. Jernigan, in one of his despatches, declared that many of them were "so false as to be past finding out." And it should also be noticed that Mr. Ralph, when asked whether it was "certain" that the men "were not spies," frankly admitted that "there was great reason to believe that they were." He said that Japan had been covering China with spies, and that when the men were arrested an inculpatory paper, containing military information, was found in the lining of the coat of one of them. In a despatch of November 2 Mr. Jernigan reported that "their cases were under investigation for nearly six weeks,"

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and that he was assured that "there was no unfairness practiced against them during the investigation." In a despatch of the 26th of the same month, written in Shanghai almost at the moment when Mr. Ralph's article appeared in New York, Mr. Jernigan further says: "A letter from an intelligent foreigner residing at Nankin, where the two Japanese spies were executed, discredits the report of their torture. Other letters from the same gentleman have proved so accurate, that I am disposed to accept the reported torture as without substantial proof."

Having reviewed the grounds on which the conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has been condemned, I deem it proper to refer to certain important incidents not mentioned by Senator Davis. When the present Administration came into power, our relations with China had fallen into a condition which might with moderation have been described as discreditable. Without seeking to impute blame to any one for that fact, it is permissible to say, that the present Administration has made a treaty by which our relations with that country have been restored to their former basis of honorable reciprocity. An epoch-making treaty has also been concluded with Japan, by which that progressive empire has been admitted to a position of international equality. The difficult situation that arose in Brazil, in consequence of the revolt of persons who were understood to possess the sympathy of certain European powers, was treated with a consistent and unwavering firmness which forced those who would not approve to be silent. The same thing may be said of the management of the Bluefields incident, which involved the long-contested claim of Great Britain to a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast. Nothing could have been easier in the beginning, or less likely to be productive of advantage in the end, than to make this incident the subject of a wordy controversy and of national alarm. But, by the exercise of a wise and tactful diplomacy, a final settement was attained in accordance with American views. I think it may be said that the conduct of our foreign relations during the last two years has reflected great honor and lasting benefit upon the country.

While I declined, at the outset, to recognize such a distinction as that implied by the terms Democratic diplomacy and Republican diplomacy, I am prepared to admit that I have heard of a spurious diplomacy—sometimes called "thoroughly American"

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—which its advocates are welcome to the privilege of calling Republican diplomacy, if they so desire. Its conscious advocates are perhaps few, but there is reason to fear that its dupes are many; and neither its advocates nor its dupes are exclusively confined to one party. But, unless the glories of our past history are to be discarded, it is not American diplomacy. It is meddlesome and aggressive; it is envious and suspicious; it is covetous and not very scrupulous; it exemplifies the evil of power without self-control, and of susceptibility to insult without a due proportion of self-respect. Its spirit is that of conquest; its first reason, as well as its last, is force. It began its career by embroiling us, under a Republican Secretary of State, in the quarrels of South American republics in 1881, only to be rebuked by another Republican Secretary of State in 1882. It has claimed the right, in disregard of our own most cherished traditions, to visit and search the ships of friendly powers on the high seas in time of peace, only to be condemned by an impartial tribunal of arbitration. It overthrows by force a Queen in Hawaii in the name of liberty and annexation, and maintains by force a King in Samoa in the name of independence and autonomy. If this be Republican diplomacy, and we are to have more of it, God help the American Republic!

GEORGE GRAY.

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THE POSITION OF JUDAISM.

BY I. ZANGWILL.

THE fall of the Ghettos has left Israel dazed in the sunlight of the wider world without, his gaberdine half off and half on. If he throws it off, will he throw off his distinctiveness and fade into the common run of men? If he keeps it on, can he keep his place in the new human brotherhood? And as he gropes, irresolute, he stumbles at every step amongst the ruins of the Ghetto wall against a *débris* of problems—not merely problems of 'doxy which the *Zeitgeist* brings to him as well as to Christianity, but problems of racial integration and disintegration, problems of transformation of sociologic function as of restoring the Jew to the soil, problems of "ceremonial" conduct, of allegiance to the Mosaic and Rabbinic codes, problems of international politics, of immigrations and persecutions and Palestine-restorations, problems of patriotism, of fidelity to a universal Jewish citizenship, so jealous and exacting that it would even forbid intermarriage with the citizens of another country; and all these problems are complicated by problems of compromise between the ideal and the practical. For the Jew belongs to a race as well as to a religion, and may wish to remain in either, or both, or neither. A Jewish Robert Elsmere would have settled but the least of his problems when he decided to abandon the orthodox creed.

With these internal problems it is impossible to grapple here. They will probably be settled less by reason than by that large drift of things which lies outside the individual consciousness. I can only venture to suggest a few thoughts concerning the common Judaism which underlies all the jarring factions and to view this essential Judaism broadly in the light of history.

Modern philosophy, which began with Descartes, still suffers from the static introspection of the Cartesian method. We are

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not so thrown upon our own resources; the Ego is not our only torch. Even if to begin *de novo* were possible—even if the past did not think through us—it would be foolish to neglect consciously what light the past throws upon the meaning and purpose of life. In a philosophy of history—a pressing need of the times, that is not altogether satisfied by the conception of evolution—Judaism would be what Bacon calls an ostensive or light-giving instance, in which normal traits usually obscure are accentuated so as to allow of facile observation. If the clue to the process of the suns is not to be picked up in the Ghetto, I know no more promising quarter in which to seek it. If the history of Israel which touches all recorded time has no dynamic significance, supplies no hint as to the destiny of humanity, then is Life indeed "a walking shadow," and history "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

For the story of this little sect—the most remarkable survival of the fittest known to humanity—in no way corresponds with its numbers; it is not a tale of majorities. It is a story that begins very near the beginning of history, and shows little sign of drawing to a conclusion. It is a story that has chapters in every country on earth, and which has borne the impress of every period. It ranges from the highest tragedy to the lowest farce; veritably Shakespearian in its jostling of princes and scholars and clowns, rogues and heroes and sages. All men and all ages pass through it in unending procession, the stern warriors of the ancient world, the rotund burghers of the mediæval, the prosaic citizens of the modern, and the toe of Shylock comes so near the heel of Hamlet, he galls his kibe. But, picturesque as the story is outwardly, it is mainly by its inner religious content that it claims consideration. For, to the Jew the world owes its vision of God.

The religion of a race is its vision of the Good, even as its science is its vision of the True, and its art its vision of the Beautiful. Israel's vision of the Good was God; and to his unifying instinct the True and the Beautiful had no separate existence. Abraham—the father of Israel's race—was the first to conceive the moral God, nay, to impose his individual vision of righteousness upon his God.

"But Abraham stood yet before the Lord. And Abraham drew near and said, Wilt Thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked? . . .

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That be far from Thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked: and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from Thee. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

And Abraham's seed perpetuated this faith in a righteous God who was revealed in Israel. That oft-quoted saying of Jehudah Halevi, "Israel is among the nations as the heart among the limbs," will be truest if interpreted in that metaphorical sense which makes the heart the seat of emotion. For it is the heart that sees God. The righteous God is an intuition, which, even if it does not contradict experience, is not reached by it. Israel first had this conception of the Creator and of his relation to a prophet-race and through it to the world. It is a unique ethical and political conception; there is no parallel to it, nor to the documents that enshrined it, nor to the race that incarnated it. The chronicle of Israel is a record of backslidings and castigation, a religious epic whose incidents only serve to point morals, and its mightiest heroes are weak and sinful. And this conception found material realization in a moralised state-system: in a theocracy to which nothing human was alien, so that sanitation was as much a part of religion as sacrifice; in a worship of Justice and Mercy; in an unfaltering adoration of Right before Might that was a paradox in a Pagan world; in a brotherhood of Israel which was to be the nucleus of the brotherhood of man. Israel planned righteousness as Sparta planned hardihood or Rome conquest, or China self-conservation; it was to be a people consecrate to consecration; through its sanctity the world was to be sanctified. Of all the ideals that nations have produced, nothing more noble, more Quixotic, can be conceived than this national idea of self-perfection as an instrument for the perfection of the world; and if, on the whole, Sancho Panza has been as much in evidence as Don Quixote, that is the inevitable tragi-comedy of human existence. To think of the course of Jewish history is to stir those thoughts that lie too deep for tears.

Among this little people Christ was born; and His teaching, more or less transformed and for a century and a half not clearly distinguished from Judaism by the Pagan world, was propagated by Jewish apostles in Egypt, Rome, and Syria, and, soon conquering the conquerors of the world, begat the Greek Church and ultimately the Roman and the Protestant Churches—this last Church a product of Christianity crossed again by the Old Testa-

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ment, and in England in particular generating so Hebrew a type of character that at this day the Englishman is regarded throughout the Continent as the Pharisee of Europe. As a colonizer, as a "mother of nations," England smacks more of Phœnicia than of Rome, and in the making of Englands, Old and New, the Old Testament has counted for more than the New. Nine centuries earlier, this same wonderful Book, *das Tagebuch Jehovahs*, as Heine calls it, had inspired in Mohammedanism a far more potent and pervasive creed. Through Christianity and Islam, the moral impulse of Judaism was communicated through the greater part of the civilized world, and each of these great religions has sent out missionaries even to those polytheistic savage races which have remained outside the great currents of history. In the very year that the Jews were expelled from Spain, a Spaniard won a new world—America—for the Jewish Bible. And from century to century, even unto this day, through the fairest regions of civilization, the Bible, written entirely by Jews, dominates existence; its vision of life moulds states and societies, its texts confront us on every hand, it is an inexhaustible treasury of themes for music and pictures. Its psalms are more popular in every country than the poems of the nation's own poets. Beside this one book with its infinite editions, with all the good and ill it has done, all other national literatures seem "trifles light as air." Jerusalem, as Rénan points out, is truly "a house of prayer for all nations." Equally venerated by the Jew, the Christian and the Mussulman, she is the Holy City of half mankind.

But while Christianity and Mohammedanisn were thus doing Israel's work, what was Israel doing?

Israel was become a Protestant nation. The original Catholic Church of Humanity was gradually made to appear Protestant by the growth of a majority permeated by a belief in the divinity of Christ. Gradually there had been evolved the touching but confusing conception of the Man-God of Sorrows, taking on human attributes to bridge the gulf between Infinity and Humanity and atoning by His death for the sin in which He had caused humanity to be born. To speak of the Jews rejecting Christ when it was the Jews who spread His gospel is a strange, popular blunder; but the bulk of the community did remain blind to whatever was edifying in the new conception, by whatsoever divine or mytho-

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poetic process it arose. The loftiest sayings of Christ were familiar to the Jews in the Rabbinic lore or in their old Testament, and though these dicta had never before been so fused as the expression of a personality, yet, on the other hand, Israel was not unaccustomed to pseudo-Messiahs, both before and after Christ; moreover, the mysteries of the Incarnation and Atonement were in direct opposition to the spirit of Judaism (as they seem a needless complication of the essence of Christianity), and by abolishing the authority of the ritual law, Christ disturbed the sociological conception which is at the bottom of practical Judaism.

The course of Christian history did not tend to reconcile Israel to Christian conceptions. For Christianity, after emerging from a period of persecution, turned persecutor, avenging upon Judaism Christ's voluntary death for the redemption of the world, and thus indurated Israel in its negative attitude. The development of Judaism went on side by side with that of Christianity, for no religion has ever remained at rest, except in the eyes of its followers ignorant of its history. Movement is at once both the law and the test of life, though in every religion ossification has curiously been considered "orthodoxy." The orthodox members of a creed are those who preserve the organism in which the change is being effected and who constitute the hostile environment in which new ideas and ideals have to struggle for existence. Judaism, which by the ignorant Jew, no less than by the ignorant Christian, is supposed to have remained stereotyped since Christ, not to say since the last page of the Old Testament, has really been a living activity that has manifested its inner vitality in many shapes and forms; and, as Dr. Schechter of Cambridge has shown in his brilliant epoch-making lectures on "Rabbinic Theology" and Jewish Philosophers and Mystics, instead of being merely a negative religion, the essence of which was unbelief in Christ and the rejection of pork, it has produced legends and liturgies, sects and movements and Messiahs, poems and philosophies and ideals, and even new Cabbalistic or humanized conceptions of the Godhead. But all this has been purely internal, and only part of it has been development.

Since the rise of Islam, Judaism has had no direct influence upon the outside world. With perhaps the solitary exception of fostering, through its distinctively religious thinkers, the scholastic philosophy of the latter part of the Middle Ages, Judaism

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has been dead to the world for over a thousand years. Speaking broadly, if Christianity had succeeded in eliminating the Jews, the religious history of Europe would have been the same as to-day. And not only has Judaism been dead to the world, for long, wretched periods, it has been dead to itself; it has remained stereotyped, immobile. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries lie the Dark Ages of Judaism. But the miracle is that Judaism kept any spark at all—for these were the Ghetto Ages *par excellence,* the days of the yellow badge and the Dominican whip, "and the summons to Christian fellowship." It was life enough to have retained suspended animation. Israel has had to run the gauntlet of the world, every man's hand against his, and his against no man's, and to repeat as a race the martyrdom of Christ as an individual.

But what, nevertheless, becomes of the mission of Israel? How are we to reconcile the conception of a nation destined to be "God's witnesses" among the heathen, with a thousand years of unobtrusive stagnation. Well, "they also serve who only stand and wait." The mills of God grind slowly: in the eyes of the Eternal, as in the eyes of the apostles of evolution, "a thousand years are but as a day." And, in a sense, the mere obstinate survival of Israel may still be deemed a witness to "the finger of God." Moreover, the Jewish idea of a "mission" is not of that fussy activity, as of Mrs. Jellyby, which Christianity connects with the word; of imposing verbal beliefs upon savages, whose vision of life is quite other. It is, in fact, the Rabbi's duty to dissuade the would-be proselyte. One may influence one's time by simply *being:* each righteous soul is a radiation of good. And the "saving of worlds" is not perhaps best effected by noisy propagandism. The merit of staying at home is eloquently expounded by Carlyle. The rabbis had a pregnant saying: "It is not thy business to complete the work, but neither hast thou the right to neglect it." To do one's own work well—that is the wisdom of the ages. And so, though Judaism was temporarily self-centred, it is not nothing for it to have consoled and uplifted a hundred generations, to have made life liveable even in Ghettos. Judaism achieved sufficient triumph in surviving at all. To have actively propagated its negative doctrine of disbelief in Christ would have been to court annihilation, Jews did not indeed shrink from disputing theses with Christians in those

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mediæval tournaments of theology, but we know that they never carried off the victory. Such proselytes as they did make were burnt. One Jew, Solomon Molcho, whose family still survives in the Orient, set out, greatly daring, to convert the Pope. The Pope was stiff-necked, but urbane, and it was not till Solomon broached Judaism to Charles V. that the poor missionary was consumed by fire. Yes, it is enough that Israel has survived, battered it may be, and stained with shame and pusillanimity; warped by evil growths of cunning and covetousness developed in the struggle with superior forces; distorted not infrequently by the perverse action of a religion that lent itself too easily to formalism; here and there, too, materialized and vulgarized by the sudden sun of prosperity, but strong by force of standing alone, tenacious, energetic, soberly adventurous, brilliantly intellectual, spiritual and idealistic in certain directions, domestic, civic, patriotic, infinitely adaptable, a marvellous reservoir of intellect and emotion and will and sanity, sufficient to renovate a decadent civilization. The vices of Israel are on the surface, his virtues lie deep. In the language of Galton, he is a "grade" or two above normal humanity.

But this admission of a thousand years of non-influence requires an important modification. It is only as a religious organization that Israel has remained barren; as a race it has played a very considerable rôle in history, both in the gross and through the individual. Judaism may have stood still, but Israel never. As a body, Jews were the great agents of the Middle Ages—the wandering Jews, a human network of intercommunication. They carried literature and folk-lore; they brought science from Arabia to Europe by way of Spain; they invented the mechanism of commercial exchange, and, less creditably, were the chief slave-dealers. Mediæval Israel was mainly an intermediary.

It is only through isolated individuals that Israel has influenced the world at first hand. Through Spinoza it affected the whole course of modern philosophy; through Ricardo it founded political economy; through Karl Marx and Lassalle it created socialism; through its financiers and politicians it has time and again shaped European politics; through a host of poets, scientists, actors, artists, musicians and journalists—of whom *longum est dicere*—it has been in the van of the world. To-day, in spite of

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two thousand years of suppression, and though but a small fraction of the population of the world, it looms large in the arts and letters and Bourses of every capital of civilization.

But now we are confronted with the curious fact that the individuals through whom Israel has influenced the world have been for the most part divorced from the body proper. They have been heretics; caring little or nothing about "The Mission of Israel," and not immediately concerned about Righteousness. They have been "racial" not "religious" Jews, and even their race they have sometimes disavowed. Even when, as in Spinoza and Lassalle, the spirit of the ancient Prophets has broken out in them, they have not consciously connected their moral fervor with the mision of their race, nor recognized the significance of their heredity. This is indeed a shining example of the irony of history, and almost leads to the suspicion that the function of Judaism during the last thousand years has been to conserve an environment favorable to the production of great heterodox Jews. Jesus himself drew from the nursery of Judaism those ideals which enabled him to react against their distortion in practice; and from Talmudical dialectics the Jewish mind derived the subtlety that expressed itself later through mathematicians and jurists and philosophers and chess-players; its talent for music was fostered by the fondness for melodious ministers; by its domestic poetry and its tragic history it accumulated the genius of a Heine, whose humor sprang from that pervasive cheerfulness which aided his race to survive, and which tinged even its theology with genial *esprit;* its adaptability, its natural mimicry of all races, fitted it for triumphs on the stage, and its enforced deference to its persecutors prepared it for comedy; to the prenatal power of the orthodox code the heterodox celebrities were indebted for their health, their head and their heart, and from the diaspora and the persecution came their assertive individuality and their cosmopolitan standpoint.

And while through the stagnation of its masses and the indifference of its energizing units, Judaism *quâ* religion has been a waste force in the world, by a further irony of history the battle for Judaism has been fought by a thousand outsiders. The dogma which has been the key-stone of Christianity has been shaken from all sides. The divinity of Christ is practically all that Judaism denies, and there is no need to insist on the negative attitude

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of modern thought towards this primal conception. From the ranks of Unitarianism, Theism, Agnosticism, and Atheism, the disbelief has definitely spread to Protestantism, the doctors of which are providing more or less nebulous substitutes for the concrete Christ of the every-day Christian. The literature of the day is thoroughly anti-Christian, the great writers to a man do not believe in Christ. It is not only the specifically polemical writers like Mrs. Humphrey Ward, it is the literary class in general. Books with distinctively Christian teaching appeal only to cliques; the leading things of general literature are the work of men not Christians. The higher mind of the world is being fed from non-Christian sources. The great movement of the modern mind is away from the Trinity. Of the writers with European reputations, Tolstoï alone maintains even the ideals of Christianity, and Tolstoï is accounted mad.

In our own literature alone, the most conservative of all modern literatures, what trace of Trinitarianism is there in Browning, Swinburne, Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, William Morris, George Meredith, George Eliot, Carlyle, Emerson, Hawthorne, Whitman, Lowell, Holmes, Rudyard Kipling, Stevenson, Hardy, Howells, Henry James, Mill, Spencer, Darwin, and a score of others who do the modern man's thinking? This part of Christianity is crumbling away even while Judaism looks idly on. History and science do not corroborate the episodes on which it is founded, and the conception itself jars upon the modern mind. Its very professors are vague, and even Mr. Gladstone has been making heretical approaches to the Jewish view of atonement.

And while the negative side of Judaism is thus being approached by the internal movement of Christianity, so is the positive side of Judaism likewise being arrived at by the thinkers of Christendom.

By the positive side of Judaism, I mean simply the conception of life which is its essence. There is more in Judaism akin to the modern spirit than there is in any other religion, for the modern spirit is really akin to that of the Old Testament. The God of the Old Testament, invisible and incorporeal and incomprehensible, in whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways, who visits the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generations, and who yet, on the whole, makes for righteous-

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ness and happiness, that terrible yet tender Father, who is still the God of Judaism, has more in common with the unity which we apprehend behind phenomena than the god of any other creed. The Mosaic code, if read to-day depolarized, in Wendell Holmes' phrase, as one would read a book by the newest thinker, would be found, allowance being made for the circumstance that it is a code for an agricultural people, to aim at all that is best in socialism without interfering with the free play of individual activity. It is practical sociology, social science applied to life so as to insure the moral and physical well-being of the race. Only it is sociology raised to religion, so that obedience is rendered, not to cold hygienic laws, but to warm religious feeling. Sociology will never gain a footing in the modern world till it is touched with emotion, and the consumptive lover will never refrain from propagating himself unless kindled by a religious conception of duty to the race.

This Mosaic code, with its Rabbinical Commentaries, became the nucleus of a poetic domesticity that sweetened poverty and persecution; it made Israel cohere and be one in a brotherhood of obedience, despite dispersion to the four corners of the earth. This sanctified sociology made the sensuous sacred equally with the spiritual. Judaism sanctified the sensuous, Christianity was an abolition of the sensuous. In the result Christianity succeeded only in abolishing it from religion, not from life. No priestly pitchfork has ever expelled human nature. Christianity has fostered an unfortunate dualism by which part of life has become secular, and religion, which should be the breath of the whole, is set in opposition to the material framework of life. The attempt to ignore the flesh and the world must defeat itself; the flesh may be brought under law, it must not be relegated to the Devil. In Judaism even sanitary arrangements are part of religion. To put away certain sides of our nature, as though God were ashamed of them, is of a piece with that other dualism of "Science *versus* Religion." The uneasy dread with which Religion regards Science is really a suspicion that the Creator is a dishonest dealer whose books will not bear auditing. Nothing is more typical of the opposed *Weltanschauungen* of Judaism and Christianity than their marriage services. In Christianity, marriage is a concession to the weakness of the flesh. In Judaism, it is the divinely ordained method of perpetuating the race joyfully and nobly through

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love. "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride." The Christian formula savors of topsy-turveydom. To make the continuance of the human race merely a concession to the weakness of the human flesh is to deny the divinity of life. Christianity is a religion of death, of pessimism, as Schopenhauer saw, or at least an other-worldly religion. In practice, of course, Christianity manages to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds, and the dualism of its creed is paralleled by the dualism of its code in actual life. It is not only in the Hegelian logic that to be and not to be are the same. The Christians around us run contrary ideals with amusing simultaneity—one code for daily life, another for Church, a lachrymose liturgy followed by a fashionable parade. They eat their cake and lay it up in Heaven as well; besides believing that it is wrong to eat cake anywhere, anyhow. Religion is outside life, as sentiment is outside business. It is something strange and esoteric, like Greek plays and the blessed word Mesopotamia.

For Judaism the centre of gravity is here and now. Though we were immortal, yet eternity is only a succession of to-days. The whole problem of life faces us to-day. Judaism may be a selection from nature, a moral human harmony shaped by spiritual genius upon the desolate chaos of nature, but Christianity is a contradiction of nature. Neither is verifiable by science, but, while Judaism inspires life, Christianity inspires to negation of life; valuable as a "counsel of perfection," Christianity can only stimulate chosen spirits, making saints of the few and hypocrites of the many. *C'est magnifique mais ce n'est pas la vie.* Judaism does not despise the world, it accepts it, and it says grace not only for food (as Charles Lamb complained Christianity does exclusively), but for the sight of forest and ocean. This acceptance of the world is the very note of "modernity." Christianity is concerned rather with the failure and inadequacy of life. "When the Devil fell sick, etc." "Man's extremity is God's opportunity." Man's prosperity should rather be God's opportunity. He should be at the root of all joy and all work. That people should be Christians on their death-bed is of the very smallest use to the world. Christianity is individual, Judaism is communal. Israel confesses its sins in common and in public. Christianity stimulates an unhealthy egoism, a spiritual self-torture; Judaism makes for a sane sanc-

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tity. It is not without significance that Max Nordau, the German author of "Degeneration," who has raised the rallying cry of sanity in the face of a Europe given over to morbid literary cults, should be an Israelite. Judaism aims at influencing character through conduct, Christianity at influencing conduct through emotion. Judaism builds up the moral character out of moral acts, Christianity thinks to get morality out of sporadic spirituality. Eight out of the Ten Commandments concern acts; only in the tenth and last does Judaism exhort a state of soul, "thou shalt not covet." The soul, built up on the basis of moral acts, becomes capable of moral states. If Judaism is in danger of formalism and Pharisaism, Christianity runs the risk of an empty spiritualism. In fact, Christianity—a negation of life—has never dominated and could not ever really dominate life. It has never expressed the Western vision of the Good. It has been external not internal. The average Christian is half Jew, half pagan. You cannot get "the new heart" of the gospels to order. It must evolve from within. The Mohammedan missionaries have been more successful with savages than the Christian because they offer a religion of acts, not impose a new view of life. Souls cannot rise above their level. It is true that in working through the figure of Christ, Christianity stands on a basis of sound psychology, for nothing affects character like character. But there must be already a latent affinity between the two character. There is no such thing as "conversion," no sudden fire, without prior accumulation of inflammable matter.

If I were asked to sum up in one broad generalization the intellectual tendency of Israel, I should say that it was a tendency to unification. The Unity of God, which is the declaration of the dying Israelite, is but the theological expression of this tendency. The Jewish mind runs to Unity by an instinct as harmonious as the Greek's sense of Art. It is always impelled to a synthetic perception of the whole. This is Israel's contribution to the world, his vision of existence. There is one God who unifies the cosmos, and one people to reveal him, and one creed to which all the world will come. In science the Jewish instinct, expressing itself, for example through Spinoza, seeks for "One God, one Law, one Element"; in æsthetics it identifies the True and the Beautiful with the Good; in Politics it will not divide Church from State, nor secular history from religious, for Israel's

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national joys and sorrows are at once incorporated in his religion, giving rise to feasts and fasts; in ethics it will not sunder Soul from Body; it will not set this life against the next, this world against another; even in theology it will not altogether sunder God from the humors of existence, from the comedy which leavens the creation. *Unitas, unitas, omnia unitas.*

Like Christianity, Judaism has the defects of its qualities. Its wisdom is the wisdom of age and the ages, not the divine discontent of youth—its sanity is sometimes overpowering, stupefying—it needs a touch of that divine insanity which leads to martyrdoms and missions, poems, and pictures, and symphonies. The young do not understand it at all, and its ministers rarely touch the true chord of its poetry. Israel has been noblest in suffering; Jeshurun, grown fat, kicks. Despite his crude conception of the equation of merit and reward—based on the grosser texts of the Old Testament—the Jew has never shrunk from suffering for his faith; despite his proverbial astuteness in his religion, the Jew has made a very bad bargain.

The wider conception of unjust suffering and misery which runs through Ecclesiastes and Job, the conception of "original sin" and vicarious punishment which appears in "The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge," must be woven more conspicuously into the web of Judaism; the doctrine of reward for virtue must needs be transferred from the individual to the race, as it is already in the conception of a mutually responsible brotherhood. On the side of art, Judaism may now profitably widen itself. The latter part of the second commandment, which for long centuries combined with his introspective intellect to withdraw the Jew from the plastic arts, has survived its function in the world. There will never be again the worship of image as deity; though in a more subtle sense the worship of the beautiful may replace the worship of the good. But just as Christianity has not conquered Judaism, so has Judaism not conquered Paganism, or rather Hellenism. But the ancient intensity of that opposition of ideals, when each ideal had yet to develop itself, is no longer necessary, and to-day their prismatic hues may blend in the white light of the religion of the future, and Judaism may as unhesitatingly accept the Hellenic cult of beauty, as it may compromise with "the Christ that is to be." And, indeed, the worship of beauty may well be incorpo-

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rated into a religion which already says grace at first sight of spring buds—grace for a world lacking naught and containing "goodly creatures and goodly trees to give delight unto the children of men." The unifying instinct of the Jew may still identify the beautiful with the good; but there is no longer need to dread the Grecian wisdom against which the Jewish poet of the middle ages warned his brethren; even an infusion of the Greek scientific spirit would strengthen rather than impair, while, if Judaism remains sociologic, the most modern discoveries in practical science might profitably be embodied in the religion, so that culpably to endanger the public health should be accounted "sin."

Of the trinity of ideals, the Good is the most important; without it life is impossible, corrupt, distraught. Israel's mission has been the noblest of all, its task the largest and widest; but its only hope of influencing the future hinges on its power to absorb the culture of the day so as to bring its own peculiar contribution to the solution of the problems of its time, its own moral vision of the world. It must come out of the *débris* of the Ghetto and enrich humanity by its point of view. Israel is too apt to forget that existence is not its ideal, patriotic pride was not its goal; its superiority was but to be the means to an end. "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." The most useful work Israel is doing at this moment is in the unnoticed form of colonization. Wherever new lands are to be exploited there the Jew is found, pioneering and building up states. But this function scarcely justifies his separate existence. Religions must live up to themselves if they are to continue to exist; they must be redeemed from the leaden meaninglessness of the commonplace and transfused with reality and vitality. Their truths can only be proved through the lives of their followers; for religions are not true in the sense in which scientific facts are true. They live by what is true in the appeal of their ideals, and by the organization which they provide to link the generations. Judaism needs to live in its own spirit, true to its ardent belief in life—full-blooded, manifold life, life that is worth living now or never. The drift of the higher spirits of the world seems to be towards autonomous morality, with the sense of sin superseded. For people refrain from wrong in proportion to their power of sympathy, of imaging the consequences to others. The larger the heart, the less the wrong-doing.

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"Yes, what was wanting," thought Mr. Pater's Marius, when he saw the gladiatorial brutalities, "was the heart that would make it impossible to witness all this; and the future would be with the forces that could beget a heart like that."

This heart was the Jewish heart, and the forces of the future are still with it.

To such a creed as Judaism the verbal authenticity of its sacred book is a triviality; to such an organization as Israel even the fall of theism would not be necessarily fatal, the energy stored up in it could still be conserved and turned to humanity's benefit. But when one thinks how this earliest of theistic creeds, this original Catholic Democratic Church of Humanity, has persisted through the ages, by what wonderful constructive statecraft it has built up a race of which the motto might well be Sanity, Unity, Sanctity, a race of which the lowest unit is no forlorn outcast, no atom in a "submerged tenth," but an equal member of a great historic brotherhood, a scion of the oldest of surviving civilizations, a student of sacred books, a lover of home and peace; when one remembers how he has agonized—the great misunderstood of history—how his "pestilent heresy" has been chastised and rebuked by Popes and Crusaders, Inquisitors and Missionaries, how he has remained sublimely protestant, imperturbable amid marvellous cathedrals and all the splendid shows of Christendom, and how despite all and after all he is living to see the world turning slowly back to his vision of life; then one seems to see "the finger of God," the hand of the Master-artist, behind the comedy-tragedy of existence, to believe that Israel is veritably a nation with a mission, that there is no God but God and Israel is his prophet; not Moses, not Christ, not Mohammed, but Israel, the race in whom God was revealed, and if whose faith and hope be a dream, it were well to abandon the search for significance in the futile and ephemeral life of man, and to look forward hopefully to the Messiah of the cosmic catastrophe.

I. ZANGWILL.

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NAGGING WOMEN—A REPLY.

BY CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

MRS. LYNN LINTON, in one of those graphic essays published some years ago under the title *Modern Women* comments on the curious attitude of women towards criticism, or what they accept as being such, of another woman. She describes in sentences full of fun the way in which the whole sex rallies to the defence, and she laughs over the manner in which the defenders then become convinced it is a matter personal to themselves, and end by believing they have been slandered. I confess to having recalled Mrs. Linton's essay as I read the answers to my article on "Nagging Women," as written by Lady Henry Somerset, Harriet Prescott Spofford and Marion Harland, published in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March.

The gist of the criticism of my views, as contained in the two longer articles, seems to be the following proposition: As there are men who are brutal, cruel, unkind, dissipated, and all else that is bad; therefore, women do not nag, or if they nag sometimes, they are more than justified. In addition to this, there are several secondary propositions advanced; first, that the number of women who nag is very small; second, that men who permit themselves to be influenced by nagging are weak, and show this as Adam showed it when he said, "The woman tempted me"; third, that I have upheld the mischievous theory of the natural antagonism of the sexes; fourth, that there are thousands of women who are gentle, kind, affectionate, and good; fifth, that, as it is the business of the physician to cure disease, and as nagging is a disease, therefore, I should cure cases of it in place of writing about it. These appear in the articles. What does not appear except between the lines is the truth pointed out by Mrs. Linton, the intolerance women have for that which they

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consider criticism. In fact, my offense is, I have written about a vice or disease which, though rare, is more common among women than among men. I know one man who is a perfect fiend of a nagger. He makes every person who is connected with him in any way miserable, and he is such an utter physical coward that a man can no more beat him than he could beat a woman. When I say a man, I mean a man, not a brute. And this reminds me. It never occurred to me it was necessary I should condemn the ducking stool or any other form of physical violence to women, and when I wrote it might be well for the naggers themselves if they were whipped, I spoke as a physician. Self-restraint is one of the best of all remedies for any disease of the brain, and, if a whipping would cause a nagging woman to exercise self-restraint, it would be the best of all medicine for her. At the same time, for fear of being misunderstood, I must confess my own utter inability to administer the remedy even were I to have a patient I honestly thought needed it.

Let me take up these objections in their order. The first and most important, that which I have called the gist of the articles by Harriet Prescott Spofford and Marion Harland, needs but to be stated to appear a *non sequitur*. The proof of the existence of a million male liars would not disprove that of one female thief. Also, it is true nagging women are not common; that is, there are not many women in whom the habit has become the disease of which I wrote. This, however, is beside the subject. Since 1870 there have been only nine cases of cholera in New York City, yet I have written much about cholera. I made no attempt in my article to say how many nagging women existed, for there are no statistics. Merely as a guess, I should think one woman in fifty has the disease in a very mild form and one in five hundred is a hopeless nagger. But I am not in the least certain these figures are correct. So far as the men who are ruined by nagging women being weak is concerned, this is perfectly true. If they were not, they would not be so much injured. But it is not the fact that these men lay the blame of their ruin on the women and quote Adam's remark. On the contrary, and this is one of the strangest things about it all, these men never blame the women, in speech at least. In the worst cases—one of which I alluded to—they are extravagantly fond of their tormentors. In others, where they are driven to

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drink or other dissipation, they will generally, if questioned, tell you they prefer the saloon to their own houses. The reason is not hard to find. A man weak enough to be driven out of his house by a nagging wife is never strong enough to acknowledge her tongue is too much for him. He always has that most contemptible of all kinds of pride, the pride of being master in his house and he is fully convinced the woman is the "weaker vessel." True, he realizes St. Paul's ideas do not, somehow, work in his case and he will acknowledge to himself that before his wife's words he is powerless. But under no conceivable circumstances —unless he be very ill and weak—will he acknowledge this to others. I insert the exception because I remember a case.

There are few theories or ideas or beliefs for which I, either as a man or a physician, have such an absolute contempt as for that which is called "the natural antagonism of the sexes"; and I must confess my surprise at hearing I had upheld it. To me, when a person talks of a natural antagonism between the two halves of an apple, he is giving utterance to profound wisdom as compared to the statement of the "natural antagonism" between men and women. What "antagonism" and why, in the name of common sense, "natural"? The two sexes are the compliments of each other. Together they make up the human race. The influences at work on them, their interests, physical and mental, the objects for which they strive, are identical. So far as nature is concerned, every natural law tends in its operation to bring them together, to give effect to this identity of interests. There is no antagonism between the sexes, natural or unnatural; the phrase names what does not exist and is nonsense, pure and simple. Were there such antagonism the human race would end in short order.

To the objection to my article, which is founded on the existence of many thousands of women who are gentle, good, and all that we admire, I bow with mingled feelings. No one realizes the existence of these good women with more reverence than I; no one can admire and respect them more. Their homes are the little heavens on this earth, and happy, indeed, is that man who has one of them to bless him. But I do not quite see what their existence has to do with the subject because they never nag. May I be permitted to point out that I did not write about these women.

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It is quite true a physician should cure disease if he can, and in my time I have had patients I tried to treat for nagging, although not under that name. Nervousness, I believe, was the synonym, for "bad temper" would be too distressingly brutal. But in these days of sanitary science it is the chief aim of the physician to prevent disease. Therefore, when I wrote on nagging women, I tried to point out to those in whom the disease had begun what the end would be, and if I succeeded in making one woman stop and think of the point to which scolding might bring her, then my article was a success. And I have a hope I so succeeded, for unquestionably the article attracted the attention of women. I know this not alone from the published criticisms, but from the letters I received—chiefly, curiously enough, from the West. Really, it was funny. For weeks after the publication these letters came, most of them attacking me in the most savage way, and showing, if the writers did not nag, it was not because words were lacking. I was called a "fool," "libeller," "slanderer," "idiot," and by various other epithets expressing disagreement with my views. The cream, however, was a quotation from Judge ——— (ah, what a gallant ornament of the Bench that man must be!), who said, after reading the article, it had "convinced him men could not write logically!"

I am glad to be able to agree most cordially with one of the points made in the published criticisms. It is true a life led in the open air as much as possible, with more exercise and better health conditions, will diminish the nervousness of women, and with it the tendency to nag. As I said in the first article, nagging is often the result of diseased conditions, or of strains on the strength. As those who have done me the honor of reading other articles of mine well know, I have long been an advocate of exercise and an open-air life for women, and this for other reasons. These, or rather their result, better health, will unquestionably diminish the temptation to nag, in addition to lessening other evils. But with a woman who is a confirmed nagger, a "cursed shrew," as Shakespeare calls her, neither exercise nor fresh air, nor any other agency of which we have knowledge, will do any good. She must simply be endured by those who cannot get away from her. I wonder sometimes whether these women realize for a moment how intensely they are detested.

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One paragraph in the criticism of my article struck me as very odd:

"To have our costume determined by men—for their interests as manufacturers and merchants, and their pride in the personal appearance of their women, have combined to do this throughout the centuries."

Is it possible the costume of women is determined by men? From the days of Juvenal to the present, men have satirized, laughed at or denounced the costumes women have worn. I do not suppose ten per cent. of the bills from dressmakers since the world began have been paid by men without a criticism on the styles of women's dress. Time and again have women writers, when answering the criticisms of men, told them they knew nothing about the subject. I question whether five per cent. of the men could even describe a woman's dress if their lives hung on their success. And yet, it seems, the men have "determined the costume of the women!" The best criticism of this amazing statement, however, was made by a woman who read it: "Did men determine women should wear high-heeled shoes or corsets, or are these worn to please the men?"

In my original article I made a plea for the children who are forced to live with nagging women; and I have been somewhat surprised not to find in one of the criticisms, published or written, a single allusion to these victims. True, we are told of some poor little ones who were so terrorized by a brute of a father they could not eat, and of others who feared their fathers like fire. These stories are doubtless true, miserably, pitifully true; but at least these children had their mother to go to for comfort and sympathy. I would, had I the power, so punish such brutes that physical terror, if nothing else, would keep them quiet. I have no words strong enough in which to denounce them. But still I think the fate of the children of nagging women is worse. For them there is no escape; necessarily, they see more of the mother, and she is a mother only in name. It is from the one person in the world they have the best right to expect love that they get nagging. It seems to me there is nothing quite as pitiful as the look on the face of such an unfortunate.

I have said the habit or disease of nagging, although not common, is more often found among women than among men. It is natural this should be true. In the first place, from the time they are small boys, all men are taught words may be followed by blows,

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whereas very many women go through life absolutely certain they are safe, no matter what they may say, from physical violence. It is not a question of courage, it is simply common sense, that makes men understand unless they consider a thing worth fighting about, they must control their speech. Secondly, men, when they become angry, have nothing like the fluency of women; as a rule, they can only swear. To nag successfully requires a feminine cast of mind, and naggers among men are invariably effeminate in character. Thirdly, angry men generally show their anger by becoming sullen; they "bottle it up." The fact of the matter is, men are forced to learn self-control; if for nothing else, that they may succeed in business, and when angry, this knowledge stands them in good stead. More than this, the majority of men look with considerable contempt on many words. Taciturnity is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race. These, and other influences, all tend to limit the number of naggers among men. It is a curious fact, too, that while women detest the habit of nagging in other women, men despise it in other men. A nagging man is invariably a coward, while a nagging woman may be, and more often is, physically brave. A nagging man is the more contemptible creature, for he invariably nags those weaker than himself or those who he believes will not hurt him, while a nagging woman generally nags those who are stronger. True, she is generally confident she will not be hurt, and in the "war of tongues" she has the heavier battalions.

I am glad this discussion has taken place, because it gives me an opportunity to emphasize the danger to those who have begun to nag. I hope some women reading these articles will seriously ask themselves whether it is worth while; whether the danger of becoming real naggers is not confronting them; whether they are willing to look forward to a time when they will be detested by everyone, and to one when their husbands and children will rejoice over their deaths. They can stop now, but it is sure that the habit will grow on them until they reach a point where they will not be able to stop. If they, after thinking the matter over, should decide to curb their tongues, then will this discussion have borne good fruit indeed.

CYRUS EDSON.

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THE GROWING GREATNESS OF THE PACIFIC.

BY THE HON. LORRIN A. THURSTON, HAWAIIAN MINISTER AT WASHINGTON.

"Henceforth, European commerce, European politics, European thought and European activity, although actually gaining force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will, nevertheless, relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."—From speech of Wm. H. Seward in the U. S. Senate, made in 1852.

THIS prophecy was made less than 44 years ago. The Atlantic nations were then in the full tide of a great commerce, the growth of centuries. England, Europe, and the Eastern United States were already possessed of telegraphs, railroads and steamships, and the methods, the men and the means for immediate expansion and development thereof. They moreover were possessed of the vantage ground of being homogeneous peoples, trained in the methods and familiar with the precedents and experience of a well-developed commercial system.

In 1850 Europe already had 14,465 miles of railway in operation, and a capital of £404,000,000 invested therein. The United Kingdom alone had 6,000 miles; Germany 3,600 miles and the United States 9,000 miles of railroad track, all, except 80 miles in Louisiana, lying east of the Mississippi River.

In 1853 the United Kingdom alone, exclusive of British Colonies, owned 1375 steamers and 24,374 sailing vessels, of an aggregate tonnage of 3,700,000. France owned 14,500 vessels, with a tonnage of 760,000; Italy 10,700 vessels, with a tonnage of 369,000, and the other European nations in proportion.

In 1850 the shipping of the United States, practically all

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owned east of the Mississippi, amounted to a tonnage of 3,535,000, of which 1,585,000 was foreign-going.

The foreign commerce of the Atlantic countries was already enormous. The shipping entries at a few main points on both sides of the Atlantic demonstrate this, viz :—

ENTRIES OF VESSELS, FROM FOREIGN PORTS, AT :

Boston (1850)	2,872	vessels.	Tonnage,	478,000
New York (1850)	3,163	"	"	1,145,000
Liverpool (1853)	4,457	"	"	2,005,000
London (1853)	11,763	"	"	2,594,000

The telegraph, as a material adjunct to commerce, is a recent creation ; but when Mr. Seward uttered his prophecy the nations and commerce of the Atlantic were already utilizing it in their immense operations. In 1858 Europe was using 48,000 miles of telegraph line, and the United States, practically all east of the Mississippi, 35,000 miles.

The new instruments of commerce—the telegraph, the railroad, and the steamship—in full operation ; their merchants and their ships penetrating to and drawing tribute from every part of the known world ; their civilization and mercantile methods the most advanced, their knowledge of mechanical and engineering appliances the most complete, their shipping the most numerous, their commerce the greatest, the world had ever known. This was the status of the Atlantic nations when Mr. Seward uttered his prophecy.

What was the status of the countries in and around the Pacific, the predicted rivals of the Atlantic nations ? There is no danger of wearying any one with statistics of their trade, commerce and shipping ; or of their achievements in railroad and telegraph building. The precarious hold and slight impress which commerce had made upon them is shown by the fact that the available statistics concerning the subject are meagre and unsatisfactory. The reasons are evident. In 1850 there was no railroad track (except the 80 miles above mentioned) or telegraph line west of the Mississippi, in the United States ; nor in any of the other countries in or surrounding the Pacific. As late as 1860 there were only 23 miles of railroad west of the Rocky Mountains, and it was not until 1861 that the first telegraph line from the East reached the Pacific coast. Steamships were still a curiosity in many parts of the Pacific. It was not until 1867

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that a regular steamship service was established between San Francisco and the Asiatic coast; and not until 1870 that steam communication was established between San Francisco and Australia.

In 1852 the only States west of the Mississippi were Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, Iowa, and California, the latter having but just entered the Union with a population of little over 90,000.

The great territory stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific was still almost an unknown land. California was but a string of mining camps; San Francisco a crude frontier town. Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia contained only a few scattered settlements and trading stations, from which there were practically no exports but furs. In 1850, and for years thereafter, California was an importer of flour, potatoes, and almost all the necessaries of life.

Mexico, Central America and the Pacific States of South America, although they had emerged successfully from their wars of independence with Spain, were still hampered by internal dissensions, the traditionally incompetent commercial methods of the old Spanish colonial system and the vast proportion of their inhabitants consisting of Indians and half-breeds, who never have proved, and apparently never will prove a helpful factor in the development of their respective countries.

Hawaii was known only as a place where Capt. Cook was killed; as a field for missionary enterprise and a supply station for the whaling fleet which was owned almost exclusively in New England. The uncertain movements of the whale ships around Cape Horn, making connections with the eastern United Sta es in from six to twelve months, were almost the only means of communicating from Honolulu to the outside world, although in the later 'fifties the service via San Francisco and the Isthmus of Panama reduced the average time required to reach New York from Honolulu to four months.

Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, the Fijis, New Caledonia, New Guinea, and the vast number of smaller islands lying throughout the southern and western portion of the Pacific were "no man's land," inhabited by savages and cannibals whose absolute sway was interrupted only here and there by the presence of an enterprising trader or self-sacrificing missionary.

The Australian colonies were but just entering upon their

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career, giving only a suggestion of the wealth, commerce and development which they have since achieved.

China had but recently been forced by gunpowder and bayonets to reluctantly open a few of her ports to foreign commerce, while Japan was still a sealed mystery. Foreigners were rigorously excluded, and it was a capital offense for any native to leave the country. Not until 1857-8 were three ports, Nagasaki, Kanagawa and Hakodadi opened to foreigners. As late as 1861 the entries of foreign vessels for the whole year amounted to only 221. During the first few years commerce increased, the exports in 1860 being valued in round numbers at $5,000,000, and the imports at $1,500,000. In 1864 the exports to Great Britain alone amounted to over $7,000,000; but foreign commerce, so far from being encouraged, was vigorously opposed by the Government, and steadily declined until, in 1870, the exports to Great Britain had declined to less than $500,000.

So completely was Japan a sealed country that as late as 1867 an authoritative writer says:

"The system of government of the Japanese Empire is as yet but imperfectly known. The laws are severe, vindictive and sanguinary. Fines are seldom imposed; banishment to the mines, imprisonment, death by decapitation, poison and impaling on a cross, are the ordinary penalties of crime, the shades of which are little distinguished."

As for Alaska and the Siberian coast of Asia, they were in the undisturbed possession of the seal and the Eskimo, except as adventurous traders were able to get from them a few furs in exchange for fire-water and trinkets.

Has the evolution of the past 40 years verified the prophecy of 1852?

That portion thereof which predicted the actual increase of the power, wealth, commerce and importance of the Atlantic nations has certainly been realized beyond all precedent and expectation.

But what have the countries of the Pacific been doing? The busy, bustling, driving people of the Atlantic States, with minds filled with their own great business enterprises, commerce and politics, have a general knowledge that California is a credit to the United States; that Australia and Japan are making progress, and that the Pacific countries generally are developing; but it is only when a revolution, a financial crisis, a war, or

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other unusual incident occurs, that Eastern attention is focused upon the Pacific.

It is discouraging to attempt to describe in a brief magazine article the development of a dozen countries, each one of which furnishes the material for a volume. All that can be done is to skim over the surface, picking out here and there an item which will serve as a suggestion of that which remains untold.

British Columbia.

British Columbia, which until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railroad was an obscure British colony, has become the port of entry of a great international commerce, and the centre of a continental railway and telegraphic system, with numerous lines radiating east and south. Its population has increased from the few traders and Indians of Seward's day to 56,000 in 1881 and 98,000 in 1891.

Its capital, Victoria, with a population of but 5,000 in 1881, returns 17,000 in 1891; while Vancouver, which was forest in 1881, had in 1891 a population of 14,000, with a full city equipment of banks, churches, schools, electric cars and lights, and all the accompaniments of a nineteenth century Anglo-Saxon community. It is the site of a powerfully fortified and fully equipped British naval station with dry docks and repair shops on a huge scale; is the port of entry of four lines of trans-Pacific steamers; the base of operations of the Canadian Pacific steamship service, from which its "Empress Line" of 6,000 ton steamers runs to China and Japan, and its 3,500 ton steamers run to Honolulu, Fiji and Australia; the latter soon to be superseded by 10,000-ton ships steaming 20 knots an hour, and giving a service, in conjunction with the Canadian Railway and a fast line from Montreal to London, of twenty-six days from London to Sydney.

During 1893, British Columbia produced gold, coal, lumber, and salmon of a value of over $5,000,000; imported $5,000,000 and exported $5,600,000 worth of merchandise, and was the port of registration of 246 vessels engaged in foreign trade; and yet its mines of gold and coal, its millions of acres of forest, its rich agricultural lands, its 400,000 square miles of territory, larger than all of the States bordering on the Atlantic from Maine to Florida, have yet scarcely been touched. What this country will

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be at the end of another forty years can only be judged by comparison with what has taken place in its Southern neighbors

The Pacific Coast of the United States.

Every one knows that the Pacific Coast is one of the world's chief sources of lumber supply; that it is one of the world's great granaries; that it sends its fruit to the four quarters of the globe, to Hong Kong, Sydney, New York and London; that it successfully competes with Sicily, France and Spain in the production of lemons, wine and olives; and yet, how many of the intelligent citizens of the East realize that the population west of the Rocky Mountains is now over 2,500,000; within 300,000 of the total population of the thirteen colonies when the Declaration was signed?

How many realize that of the 161,000 miles of railroad in the United States in 1889, 71,600 miles, or nearly one-half, are west of the Mississippi, and that of this 11,470 miles are west of the Rocky Mountains? The railroad building of the East has been of steady growth, but that of the West has leaped into existence almost within a decade.

The "pony express" and the "prairie schooner" of Seward's day have given place to six great trans-continental lines of railway, which penetrate from the East to the Pacific Coast, all of them constructed since 1869. The railroad building of the East is comparatively at a standstill, but it is continuing in the West at a scale which will soon give it a preponderance. Already California stands third on the list of value per capita of railroad property, owning $741 per capita, being surpassed only by Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and being followed by New York with $549 per capita, Ohio with $433, and Virginia with $248, those States being the highest in their respective sections.

California alone mined one-third of the gold product of the United States in 1893.

During the ten years from 1884 to 1894, the shipping owned in the Atlantic and Gulf States decreased 710 in number and 135,000 in tonnage. During the same period the shipping owned on the Pacific Coast increased from 1,221 with a tonnage of 334,669 in 1884, to 1,520 and a tonnage of 456,359 in 1894, an increase in number of 499, and in tonnage of 121,690.

The steamship fleet of the Pacific Coast does not fill much

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space in the Eastern mind, and yet it constitutes a respectable navy in itself, as the following figures show:

THE STEAMSHIPS OF THE U. S. PACIFIC COAST ENGAGED IN FOREIGN TRADE IN 1893.

Owners.	Route.	No. of steamers.	Tonnage.	Value.
Pacific Mail S. S. Co.	S. F. to Hawaii, China and Japan...	4	17,096	$6,488,369
Pacific Mail S. S. Co.	S. F. to Panama.....	7	17,413	
Pacific Mail S. S. Co.	S. F. to Mexico and Central America	4	7,089	
Occidental & Oriental S. S. Co.....	S. F. to Hawaii, China and Japan...	3	12,260	900,000
Panama S. S. Line...	S. F. to Panama.....	3	6,698	625,000
Pacific Coast S. S. Co.	S. F. to Portland, Puget Sound and Alaska.....	6	13,437	1,552,500
Oceanic S. S. Co.	S. F. to Hawaii, Samoa, New Zealand and Australia	5	14,994	1,500,000
Dunsmuir Line.....	S. F. to Central America.....	1	1,983	80,000
Chandler Line.....	S. F. to Central America.....	1	732	30,000
Northern Pacific S. S. Co.....	Port Townsend to China and Japan	3	8,389	400,000
Lower Cal. Development Co.....	San Diego to Mexico and Central America.....	2	608	40,000
Miscellaneous owners	Los Angeles to British Columbia..	1	2,438	200,000
	Miscellaneous ports	125	30,000	
	Total	165	133,137	

Mexico, Central and South America.

In spite of the tremendous obstacles to development in these countries, in the face of governmental instability, lack of roads and transportation facilities, and hampered by a large element among their populations of turbulence and ignorance, these countries are, as the following figures show, making steady progress:

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS, RAILWAY AND TELEGRAPH MILEAGE, 1893.

Country.	Imports.	Exports.	Miles of Railway.	Miles Tel. Line, 1888.
Mexico.....	$52,468,000	60,264,000	6,723	20,500
Central America.....	18,127,000	30,753,000	858	10,730
Colombia.....	14,040,000	7,017,000	342	6,500
Chile.....	63,617,000	64,113,000	2,900	8,346

Australasia.

Australia is the commercial wonder of the nineteenth century. The first white man settled there in 1788, and it was so little known that until 1802 it was called simply "The Great South Land"; and yet in 1890, only 88 years after the country was named, with a population of only 3,784,000, its foreign commerce for the year amounted to $642,500,000!

The United States has the reputation of holding the world's record for rapid development; and yet, in 1860, after two and a half centuries of development and with a population of 31,400,-

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000, the foreign commerce of the United States amounted to only $708,830,000.

Australia is just emerging from a great financial crisis, during which millions of dollars were lost, and yet during the year 1893 New South Wales imported for consumption $72 worth of merchandise per capita of its population, South Australia $111 worth, and West Australia $119 worth. The importations during 1893 by Great Britain were $52 per capita (much of which was re-exported); by France, $20; by the United States, $14.

A bare enumeration of the resources, the commerce and the enterprises developing iu Australasia would fill a volume. For the purposes of this statement, suffice it to say, that Australia alone contains over 3,000,000 square miles, being larger than the United States, exclusive of Alaska; that in 1893 it owned 10,400 miles of railroad; 75,500 miles of telegraph line, and entered and cleared shipping from foreign ports to the amount of 17,983,000 tons; that it owns 1,500,000 horses, 9,000,000 cattle, and 98,000,000 sheep, the total value of its live stock being $330,000,000; that it owns a navy of 33 small but modern vessels; that the cities of Sydney and Melbourne compare favorably with Paris and Washington for cleanliness and beauty; that it spends $5,000 a day on telegrams to England alone; that in 1893 it produced $35,000,000 worth of gold, nearly one-fourth of the world's annual production; that its annual production of coal is nearly 4,000,000 tons; that its annual wool clip averages a value of over $100,000,000; that it is the focus of a system of steamship lines radiating to all parts of the globe, and is inhabited by a people unsurpassed in intelligent and aggressive energy, and is possessed of boundless resources yet untouched.

Japan.

The real development of Japan dates only from 1868, when the great revolution took place, sweeping away the old form of government and changing its attitude from that of stubborn and determined conservatism and hostility to everything foreign to one of advanced liberalism and the adaptation of every advantage afforded by Western civilization. Japan has recently amazed the Western world, not only with her brute-fighting courage, but by a display of the heretofore supposedly Western attributes of organization, administration, strategy, and financiering. Her

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military and naval ability and resources have forced themselves upon the attention of the world by reason of their brilliancy and international character; but the same forces and intelligence which in twenty five years created outright a modern army and navy have been at work in every other direction in Japan. A brief citation of a few figures demonstrates this, viz.:

JAPANESE STATISTICS.

Miles of railway in operation in 1870, none; in 1880, 75; in 1893	1750
" " " projected in 1893	822
Railway passengers carried in 1893	25,790,000
Miles of telegraph line in 1870, none; in 1893	9,000
Date of establishment of Post Office	1,871
Pieces of mail matter handled by Post Office in 1887	136,655,000
" " " " " " " " 1893	277,805,000
No. Steamships in 1892, 643. No. Sailing vessels (European style) 835. } tonnage	3,255,000
No Sailing vessels (Japanese style)	18,589
Value of exports and imports in 1893	$112,000,000

The foregoing figures only partially tell the tale. The wealth of the country is evidenced by the fact that a great foreign war is being carried on without the suggestion of a foreign loan, and without materially interfering with either the domestic or foreign commerce of the country. The intense energy of the people is manifesting itself not only in political and military development, the expansion of the railroad and shipping industries, but in every form of manufacture known to the Western world. Manufactories of ships, machinery, cotton, wool, hardware, shoes, clothing, clocks and notions are springing up in every direction, and successfully competing, both as to price and quality, with the similar products of Europe and America.

What the status of Japan will be forty years from now can only be imagined; there is no basis or precedent for estimating it.

China.

China still maintains the policy of hostility to western commerce and methods pursued by Japan prior to 1868. In spite of this, however, seventeen out of the twenty ports open to the commerce of foreign nations exported and imported merchandise during 1893 aggregating $422,600,000; and, in spite of her hostility to everything foreign, in 1893 her register shows 123 foreign-going steamships; and 265 miles of railroad and 900 miles of telegraph line had found lodgement within her borders.

Can there be a doubt that China's present experience with

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Japan will break down the barriers which have heretofore isolated her from the world? And when that takes place and China wakes up to the possibilities of her military, manufacturing and commercial powers, what living man can predict the results or where the end will be?

Siberia.

Siberia is 5,000 miles long, 2,600 miles wide, and contains an area of 4,800,000 square miles; more than a million square miles larger than all Europe. It has a larger area than any other country in the world. Its southern limit is in the latitude of Cape Cod and Chicago. In the variety of its almost unlimited resources it resembles the great Northwestern territory of Canada and the United States. While the other countries of the Pacific have felt the thrill of awakening life, Siberia has remained locked in solitude and silence, a reputed icy desert. But her awakening is at hand. The mighty Russian Empire, which for centuries has been seeking a western outlet to the sea, is, for the time being, allowing that project to rest in abeyance, while with tremendous energy it is developing its Pacific empire and establishing its long-sought route to the open ocean. In 1891 the present Emperor of Russia went to Vladivostok and drove the first spike in the mighty railroad which, when completed, will reach 6,000 miles from St. Petersburg to the Pacific, at an estimated cost of $175,000,000. In 1893 he was placed at the head of the commission having in charge the construction of the railroad, and until his accession to the throne devoted most of his time to the personal supervision thereof.

Work on the road is progressing with tireless energy at three different points, while Vladivostok, just north of Corea, has grown within a decade from a fishing and trading village to a city of 20,000 inhabitants, with dry docks of the largest capacity and fortifications which make it impregnable. In 1893 the sum of $7,000,000 was appropriated to colonize Eastern Siberia, and colonists are pouring in both by means of the "volunteer fleet" from the Black Sea, *via* the Indian Ocean, and overland; while factories, foundries and farming colonies are being established all along the line. Siberia already produces one-sixth of the world's annual output of gold, and the rapidly advancing railroad is opening up vast deposits of coal, iron, lead and silver, and the forests

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of timber and rich agricultural lands, the products of which will soon compete in the lumber and grain markets of the world. The great river Amoor, nine miles wide at its mouth, navigable for 600 miles for vessels drawing twelve feet, and for 2,000 miles for smaller vessels, is also being utilized as an adjunct of trade development, and already a large commerce has developed thereon. In natural resources Eastern Siberia is one of the richest countries in the world. It has needed only an opportunity to take a high place among the nations, and the opportunity has come. With the Russian Emperor for a patron, and the Imperial treasury as a source of supply, the development of Pacific Siberia is proceeding with the rapidity of a transformation scene, and before the schoolboys of to-day are men, a new and powerful military and commercial nation will have been created upon the borders of the Pacific, a competitor for its commerce and a potent factor in its control.

The following comparison of the commerce of the Atlantic and Pacific countries shows an unparallelled power of production and consumption in the latter, more particularly in those dominated by Anglo-Saxons.

The shipping entries at leading Atlantic and Pacific ports show that even now the latter do not suffer by comparison.

POPULATION, IMPORTS AND EXPORTS PER CAPITA, 1893.

Country.	Population.	Imports per capita.	Exports per capita.	Country.	Population.	Imports per capita.	Exports per capita.
United Kingdom...	37,880,000	$52	$36	Canada (whole)....	4,833,000	$27	$25
France.....	38,343,000	20	17	British Columbia..	98,000	50	58
Germany.....	49,428,000	20	15	United States (whole).....	62,830,000	14	13
Austria.....	43,212,000	6	7	Pacific States.. ..	2.506,000	17	14
Italy.....	30,535,000	11	8	Mexico.....	10,447,000	5	6
Norway.....	2,001,000	28	18	Guatemala	1,510,000	4	10
Sweden.....	4 824,000	18	18	Nicaragua.....	310,000	8	8
Spain	17,550,000	7	7	Costa Rica.....	243,000	23	17
Portugal.....	4,708,000	9	7	Chile.....	3,000,000	21	21
Denmark.....	2,185,000	40	31	New South Wales..	1,223,000	72	91
Belgium.....	6,147,000	89	82	Victoria.....	1,173,000	55	55
Russia.....	124,000,000	2	3	South Australia....	348,000	111	118
				Queensland	432,000	49	108
				West Australia ..	61,000	119	73
				New Zealand.....	668,000	50	65
				Tasmania.....	154,000	33	43
				Fiji.....	122,000	11	14
				Japan.....	41,089,000	1	1
				Hawaii.....	90,000	59	122

A large proportion of Belgium's trade is of a transit character, and much of England's "Imports" is reëxported.

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TONNAGE OF VESSELS ENTERED FROM FOREIGN PORTS, 1888.

Atlantic Ports.		Pacific Ports.	
London	7,470,000 tons.	Hong Kong	3,330,000 tons.
New York	5,470,000 "	Sydney	2,380,000 "
Liverpool	5,370,000 "	Melbourne	2,150,000 "
Boston	1,100,000 "	San Francisco	1,050,000 "
Philadelphia	1,030,000 "	Chile	2,070,000 "
Hamburg	4,410,000 "	Japan	1,330,000 "
Antwerp	3,360,000 "		
Bremen	1,180,000 "		

The limits of available space prevent detailed reference to Hong Kong and its foreign commerce of $100,000,000 per annum; to Manila and its annual foreign trade of $45,000,000; to Macao; to Hawaii, the "Gibraltar of the Pacific," its rapidly developing foreign trade of $16,000,000 per annum, its remarkable record of having entered more ships flying the American flag than were entered at any other foreign port in the world during 1893, and its growing importance as a shipping and cable centre. Nothing has been said of New Zealand; of Tahiti, Fiji, Tonga, New Caledonia and the host of islands throughout the southern and western Pacific which, since their absorption by the European powers, with the advantages of improved administration and direct steam communication with the outer world, are all beginning to march in time with nineteenth century progress; and there is still in reserve Alaska, that great American Siberia, with its enormous fisheries and mineral and lumber resources; but a statement concerning the development of the Pacific would be incomplete which did not refer to the recent rapid appropriation of Pacific territory by England, France, Germany and Spain, which has ceased only with the exhaustion of raw material, Hawaii and Samoa being the only remaining unappropriated islands in the Pacific.

Spain took possession of the Philippine and Ladrone Islands in the sixteenth century. England appropriated Australia and New Zealand over a hundred years ago, and in 1842 France raised her flag over the Marquesas group, and in 1853 added New Caledonia and the Loyalty group to her possessions. In 1874 the 250 islands of the Fiji group were gathered beneath England's standard. In 1880 France annexed the Paumotu and Society groups containing thirty-six inhabited islands. In 1881 England annexed Rotumah. In 1885 Spain took possession of the Caroline Islands, and Germany took the Marshall, the Solomon and the Admiralty groups, and England, Germany and Holland partitioned New Guinea between themselves. This island is 1,500 miles long, 400 miles wide and contains over 300,000 square miles. England

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again appeared on the scene in 1888, and gathered in the Gilbert, Ellice, Enderbury and Union groups containing twenty-six inhabited islands and the following single islands: Kingman, Fanning, Washington, Christmas, Jarvis, Malden, Starbuck, Dudosa, Penryhn, Vostok, Flint, Caroline and Nuie. In 1889, 1891 and 1892 England took Suwaroff, Coral, Gardner and Danger Islands, thus exhausting the unappropriated territory of the Pacific.

Another marked feature of the commercial development of the Pacific is the great stimulus given thereto by direct government action, especially by the British colonies. The most prominent example of this policy is the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, made possible solely by the land grants and cash subsidies received from the Canadian Government. Almost the entire Australian railway system of over 10,000 miles is owned and operated by the colonial governments.

Another feature of recent development in the Pacific is the payment of government subsidies to steamship and cable companies.

During 1893 the Australian colonies alone paid approximately $350,000 as subsidies and guarantees to ocean cable companies.

Up to 1893 the sum of $2,995,000 had been paid by the Australian governments to the Eastern Extension Cable Company, owning the cable between Australia and India.

Steamship Routes.	Annual Subsidy paid by	Amount in £s.	Total £s.
England to Australia	England	170,000	
	Australia	75,000	245,000
England to India and China	England	265,000	
	India and Hong Kong	74 000	339,000
Canada to China	England	67,300	
	Canada	15,000	82,300
Canada to Honolulu, Fiji and Australia	Fiji	1,500	
	New South Wales	10,000	
	Canada	25,000	36,500
Australia to Samoa, Honolulu and San Francisco	New Zealand and New South Wales		34,000
Cable, Australia to India	Australia		32,400
Cable, Australia to New Caledonia	France	4,000	
	New South Wales	2,000	
	Queensland	2,000	8,000
Total			£777,200 or $3,777,192

The above is an incomplete list of the annual subsidies

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now paid by the British and British Colonial governments for steamship and cable communication in or to the Pacific.

There are several other subsidies both to cable and steamship companies in addition to those above enumerated.

Among other great developing agencies even now organizing, is the project of the Canadian Pacific Company to establish a line of ten thousand ton steamers, steaming twenty knots an hour, on both the Pacific and the Atlantic, which will give a service of twenty-six days travelling time between London and Australia *via* the Canadian Pacific Railway; the Atlantic connection being made at Montreal in summer and at Halifax during the winter. Canada has already offered a subsidy of $750,000 per annum in addition to the subsidy already being paid, and New Zealand $50,000 per annum in support of the proposed line.

The inter-colonial conference which met in Ottawa last summer unanimously adopted resolutions favoring the immediate construction of a cable from Australia to Canada, at an estimated cost of $10,000,000, to be borne in equal proportions by England, Canada, and Australia, and to be owned and operated by the three governments. Tenders for constructing and laying the cable have already been received by the Canadian government.

An American corporation of responsible capitalists is now being organized to promote the laying of a cable from the United States to Honolulu and Japan, and to the Australian colonies, the intention being to seek the co-operation and assistance of the several countries to be connected by such cable system.

The Pan-American Congress, which met in Washington in 1890, recommended the survey of a railway route extending from the United States throughout Mexico and Central and South America. A considerable portion of such survey has been made and the continually extending railway construction in the several countries traversed is constantly tending toward the completion of such line.

Prophesying is dangerous and uncertain business; but it seems altogether probable that within ten or fifteen years the railroad from St. Petersburg to Vladivostok will have been completed, and that steamship lines will radiate from the latter point to Vancouver, San Francisco, the Nicaragua Canal, and the Southern colonies. The railroad system of North America will have been extended to Alaska on the north and to Chile on the south. The Nicaragua

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Canal will have been constructed, and a large proportion of the enormous commerce which now pours through the Suez Canal will have been diverted to its American rival. Honolulu will be the centre of a cable system radiating to Tahiti, Australia, Japan, Vancouver, and San Francisco; while between all the main ports of the Pacific, steamers of the size and speed of those now plying between New York and Europe will be in use.

The Pacific has already made giant strides of progress, but it is yet only upon the threshold of the destiny which looms before it.

LORRIN A. THURSTON.

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THE PHYSICIAN AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

BY PAUL GIBIER, M. D., DIRECTOR OF THE PASTEUR INSTITUTE OF NEW YORK.

THE human body may be compared to an immense harp of which the nervous fibres are the harmonic chords. When these fibres are well tuned, the somatic functions are accomplished in a physiologic manner, without pleasure and without pain, unconsciously for the most part, and evoke the idea of a Nirvana of the organic matter. We are made, however, for suffering rather than for pleasure, for on this Æolian harp of gigantic proportions the fibres of pleasure were distributed with extreme parsimony, and, whereas their sensorial vibrations give a languid song of short duration, the scales of pain are intense and infinitely varied.

According to the symbolic expression of religious initiators, man was made in the image of God; this means that man represents a *résumé* of the universe—he is the microcosm. But humanity, coming from one source, may be compared to one man. In reality, humanity is the real man, the universal Adam-Eve.

Perhaps this comparison may enable us to understand the state in which are the different parts of humanity; I mean, the uneasiness from which human societies suffer, and which becomes more and more intolerable as societies become more and more conscious of their existence, of their determination to exist, and of their necessities. Humanity is a great suffering being, the harp with painful chords to which physicians of the mind and of the body have at all times endeavored to restore its lost harmony.

The physician represents the initiator of modern times; the one who serves as an intermediary between the priests of the temples—I mean, the patient and learned investigators of laboratories—and the people. In representative assemblies he indicates applications of the discoveries made in institutes, and it is he

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who has taught us the means which we use to defend ourselves against epidemics and contagious diseases. His rôle should not be limited to this. In a previous work* I showed that for the health of cities and the adoption of hygienic international measures his influence has been overpowering. I said that in the presence of the improvements to be accomplished it was his duty to be the champion of all healthy measures, and that in the study of social hygiene, notably, he should not remain in the rear. In fact, is there anybody able in this matter to precede the physician? Who among us, in the same journey, goes to the most intimate place in the rich man's family and at the bedside of the workingman? Who may with more authority talk to the one and to the other? He hears the selfish complaints and also the exaggerated envy, expressed without fear in his presence by those whom misery has made unjust. Nobody more than he may inspire philanthropy in the wealthy and palliate the impatience of the disinherited. In a word, by associating himself with the charitable work of the ministers of religion and of the philosophers, the physician will be the priest of the family, the apostle of social peace, and one of the firmest supporters of improved society.

The intention to make of the physician a sort of mystic counsellor is far from my thoughts. I think that his teachings must be established on a scientific basis and be supported by positive facts.

"What think you may be the mission of the physician against socialism and anarchy?" may be inquired; "for in speaking of inspiring philanthropy in the rich and patience in the poor you seem to desire that the physician shall intervene in social questions." To this I answer that the physician's rôle is not to interfere with militant politics, but to pointing to the causes which engender dangerous theories, and to fighting these causes in their nest. His habit of studying symptoms of diseases and their causes makes him seek for the etiology of every effect which does not seem normal to him, and in his eyes the troubles which he witnesses to-day are only the effects of a pathological state of society. Humanity is in a permanent state of evolution, and certain forms of socialism or anarchy may be regarded as maladies of the growth.

* "The Microbes and the Social Question." Speech delivered at the inauguration of the New York Pasteur Institute, October 9th, 1893. New York *Therapetic Review*, No. 4, 1893.

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Fifty years ago an eccentric, impulsive individual lived at Dresden. He came from Russia, whence he had been banished. This man was Bakúnin, whom Tourguenieff had welcomed at his home. Superb, of athletic build, wearing abundant hair and a beard which made him resemble a lion, an excellent friend and a good-hearted fellow at bottom, he possessed, moreover, a vast erudition. He had the mania for destruction to a point so extreme that if one did not take care to distract his attention he could not look for some time at any object without wishing to break it into pieces. An idea of his state of mind may be formed from the following anecdote.

At a dinner given on the occasion of the marriage of one of his friends, and at which he had fulfilled the functions of a groomsman, he committed the most extravagant acts. He had constructed with the crockery and glasses a sort of scaffold, which the assistants feared would fall at any moment. He was persuaded to undo his work, piece by piece, instead of throwing it down at one blow, in the same manner as he wished to destroy all the governments of Europe. But he was so excited that he took a Bohemian glass, broke it with his teeth, and swallowed the pieces. A scalp disease compelled him to shave his head and he wore a wig, which he took off whenever he was not in a public place; that is, when in a friend's house or wherever he was a guest, without caring for the opinion of those to whom he thus exposed the anatomy of his denuded cranium.

It is this maniac who is justly considered as the father of Nihilism and of dynamitic anarchy, extraordinary theories, worthy children of such a father; dreams and chimeras emanating from ill-balanced brains and which dreamers are seeking to materialize into a simple doctrine for the use of the desperate.

Anarchy is a psychical malady recognizing as a predisposing cause a particular state of mind, determined principally by: I. Insufficient knowledge of human nature; II. A susceptibility painfully impressed by personal suffering and the misery of others; III. Materialistic superstition.

Let us examine these three causes, which I regard as the principal factors of a doctrine which deserves to be studied, as it may create much more stir in the world than it has done until the present time. To every healthy mind it is evident that to wish to destroy the actual social order for the purpose of reorgan-

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izing it on the basis of absolute liberty and radical communism, with the hope of creating universal happiness, and to imagine that this could have any sort of duration, is assuredly the indication of an absolute lack of knowledge of human nature. One must ignore it, in effect, to think that men could live without laws, without rules, and that there shall ever be stronger people who, individually or collectively, shall not try to take advantage of the weak. One must live in a dream, and see practical life through a strange prism, to print things like the following, which I take from one of the greatest authorities of the anarchists:

"A population of three millions and a half [that of Paris and its environs] has at least one million two hundred thousand adults able to work, and as many women. Well, to insure bread and meat to all, it would not be necessary to work for more than seventeen days a year—the men only. Add three millions of days that you may have milk. Add again as much! The whole does not reach twenty-five days of five hours each. It should be a simple affair of amusement in the fields to obtain these three principal products—bread, meat, and milk—these three products which, after lodging, form the principal preoccupation of nine-tenths of humanity."*

The author proposes as a solution of the social question that every valid man of Paris, and naturally of all the cities of the world, should at certain moments do agricultural work, sow to-day, thresh to-morrow, and reap another day, should the desire for an outing suggest itself. And during this time the peasants, if it amuses them, shall doubtless come into the cities to learn the art of painting and to aid jewellers in chasing fine pearls.

Again what a poetic spectacle—the gathering of the gilded wheat, young men playing hautboys and dancing around chariots with young girls crowned with red and blue flowers! "There is not a Parisian so weak as not to be capable, after a few hours of apprenticeship, to superintend machines or to contribute to the general agricultural work."†

I think that it is needless to insist longer in order to give an idea of the inanity of similar theories. Alone, a psychologist, or a physician familiar with the maladies of the intelligence, may conceive that such theories find fanatical partisans among those whose susceptibility is over-excited.

Exaggerated susceptibility united with lack of healthy judg-

* Pierre Krapotkine, *La Conquête du Pain*, with preface by Elisee Reclus. Paris, 1892, page 279.

† *La Conquête du Pain*," page 275.

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ment is, as I have remarked, the second of the principal causes to which I attribute the development of anarchical ideas. It is curious to observe that odious assaults, frightful crimes of anarchy, have for their first cause love of one's fellow-men. It is because the anarchist has been revolted by the view of misery, often without having suffered from it himself; it is because he would like to see all the world live in happiness,—that he does not hesitate to throw into a crowd bombs that bring mourning and misery to numerous families. It is because he suffers at the sight of people dying of misery, that he kills as many people as he can with the knife and with dynamite. The anarchist doctrine which Proudhon established proposed to unite all citizens for common happiness. But how should one be surprised at such contradictions? Are there not analogous ones in the history of humanity? Let us recall the hecatombs of the religious wars, the flames of innumerable stakes, the dragonnades, the persecutions and the infamous tortures which followed one another without interruption for centuries. What was the cause of these abominable cruelties? A disagreement in the interpretation of the most charitable, the sweetest doctrine which was ever preached to men. The anarchist ideal might be considered as perfect, only if men were also perfect.

Partisans of spiritualistic philosophy who believe in the immortality of the soul, admit generally that life is a trial in which the mind has the occasion to be developed. If they concede that man has the right to try to improve his lot, they repel in principle the violent means employed by the anarchists. I have found among the latter only materialists, and I will add that there was the only trace of logic that I ever observed in their doctrine. In effect, the moment that you admit that existence begins at the birth and finishes at the death of man, why should not man try to enjoy as much as possible of the good things of life? By what right should there be men who possess too much while there are others who vegetate miserably? Why should not the latter enjoy the "right to ease"? One dies only once, says the materialist; and the anarchist replies: "That is why I wish to enjoy and to satisfy all my passions without restraint. Why should I waste my life by spending it stupidly in the abjection of misery and the thirst of unsatisfied desire?"

I shall try to indicate how the physician shall be able, when

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he shall have learned his mission, to fight victoriously against these twice dangerous sophisms. They are dangerous for society on the one hand, and on the other hand for minds that specious arguments of anarchism may seduce.

A nation is formed by a reunion of individuals grouped into families. Let us ask ourselves now what would become of a nation in which one-quarter of the families should suffer from mental alienation or epilepsy, while another quarter suffered from scrofula and tuberculosis? As these maladies have a sad tendency to perpetuate themselves among descendants, if the half of the nation that is sane and healthy marries with the other half, the number of scrofulous and insane people shall increase. Increase of insanity is a fact verified at present, with anxiety, among civilized nations. Many a State expends a large part of its income in the maintainance of insane asylums and institutions for idiots and epileptics, not to mention the prisons for criminals, the responsibility of whom may often be questioned. This increase in insanity is charged to the hardships of actual existence, to the excited state in which we live, and to alcoholism. These causes are not to be doubted, but one might incriminate equally marriages contracted without discernment, and see in them a powerful factor in the development of diseases of the nervous system. Most of these marriages are the results of interested motives, or often of what I shall take the liberty to call epidermic attraction. Two young people of even condition meet, please each other, and marry without information about their condition of health. It is the beautiful appearance of the epidermic covering of their features that seduces them, for if this cuticle were not seductive, although healthy, even if it covered an elevated soul, I fear that its possessor would have some difficulty in finding a mate. In this, as in many other things, man is the victim of appearances.

Experience has demonstrated that efforts of the physician are seldom crowned with success, when, foreseeing misfortune, he tries to prevent or simply to postpone a marriage. He succeeds sometimes, however, but if he has not interfered in time, or if his advice has not been followed, he should not allow himself to be discouraged, but remember, on the contrary, that superior interests impose upon him the duty to prevent, as much as may be in his power, the consequences of a union the fruits of which might be a useless charge to, or even a dangerous element of,

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society. There again is a circumstance wherein the physician may, as the intimate counsellor of the family, fulfil a great social function, and his life shall not be useless if he has been able to contribute to the purification of the race wherein shall be incarnated in future generations the soul of the nation. But this is a delicate question, of which I do not propose to treat at length in this article. I shall only say now that my theory has nothing in common with that of Malthus, and that it is distinguished from the latter by the fact that the restriction which I advise affects only dangerous births. In my medical practice I consider it a duty to add, to the prescriptions which I give in certain cases of nervous, hereditary maladies, appropriate counsel in this regard. In so doing, I am confident of tendering a triple service to society, to the family, and to the individual who shall not see the light.

It seems demonstrated that as a nation becomes more civilized it ceases to increase in population ; in other words, the number of births diminishes at a certain degree of civilization; but when we shall be better civilized, as we shall have the sentiment of our duties toward humanity and the social contract shall have amended its statutes, the number of births must increase. Then, as medical science shall have reduced the causes of death from contagious diseases to a minimum ; as, on the other hand, the progress of philosophy and of science in general shall have rendered wars more and more rare, if not impossible—the white race shall increase in considerable proportions. But that this race may retain its predominance it shall be necessary for an intelligent selection to take the place of the natural and blind evolution of the present period, and it is in this selection that the physician shall fulfil the great social function of which I have just spoken.

In this article I have intended to indicate rather than to explain my idea of the part that the physician is to take in the future. The physician in the future, from the point of view of social evolution, is to be considered in his relations—*A*. To constituted bodies. *B*. To individuals—*a*, to the poor ; *b*, to the rich ; *c*, to both poor and rich.

A. With constituted bodies—municipal councils, boards of health, etc.—the physician has already done a great deal for the improvement of public health. He has much more to do, and shall have to persist in the path which he has traced for himself

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in the direction of ways and means for the amelioration of cities. A city is a being which could no more live in good health, without care, than a man. The physician shall continue to apply to the prevention of contagious diseases all the prescriptions of hygiene and bacteriology. The disappearance of tuberculosis, that bacterial disease which alone causes more deaths than all the other contagious diseases combined, shall be some day the work of the physician. He shall do his utmost in order that houses built for workingmen and the people in general be as healthy as the best built houses; because it is from unhealthy dwellings that emanate contagious diseases by which towns are ravaged.

B. In his relations to individuals, let us consider first the physician: *a.* With regard to the poor. Here he may, and he must if he wishes, have a great deal of authority. As he does not limit his services—he often tenders them without any hope of remuneration—he may gain confidence and do the greatest good in a general sense. He may demonstrate to workingmen the inanity of deceptive doctrines like those of anarchy and of socialism. He may prove the importance of cleanliness of mind as well as of body. Alcoholism shall not have a more dangerous adversary; for the picture which he may make of the ills produced by fermented liquors shall make a stronger impression coming from him than from any other person. *b.* With regard to the rich what may not a physician do? Naturally he should not attempt to appeal to elevated sentiments: those who have them are not in want of his advice, although their goodwill needs to be guided. Those, more numerous, in whom these sentiments are dormant, may learn from him the fact, scientifically demonstrated to-day, that the presence of misery in a society is a permanent danger for the part of the society which lives at its ease. He should not, therefore, be weary of repeating this advice: "Work unceasingly, that misery shall disappear. It is the mother of all your ills. From misery come epidemics, cholera, typhus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, etc., which affect you and your children in the physical frame. From misery are born pernicious doctrines, socialism, anarchy, theft, and fraud, which threaten your property and security. From misery swarm the armies of unfortunates who poison the blood of your children and contaminate manners."

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c. In fine, to all in general, the physician may give, in familiar life, counsels the effects of which on social existence shall be most fortunate. Enlightened by the progress of science on the character, the temperament, the causes of diseases of an individual, he will be able to guide him in most of the acts of his life. To married people he may give more than one wise advice on the manner of entertaining the affection which too often gives place to indifference and even to aversion ; but his part has its real importance, in the social point of view, in families affected by hereditary ills. In these he may prevent, to a great extent, the production of nullities and even of elements noxious to the future of society.

I have no illusion about the quantity of tact and the degree of honesty which such a function shall require. But I pray the reader to consider the evils of to-day, and perhaps he shall think as I do that the events of the present time justify propositions which are in appearance bold and in the light of reflection are only rational.

Consciousness of our responsibilities shall be enlightened in us men of art, when science, continuing its triumphant march from discoveries to discoveries, and adding a new chapter to the treaties of psychology, shall have promulgated the experimental proofs of the existence and survival of the human soul. A higher comprehension of life cannot fail to be the result of these new studies. An argument of considerable weight shall then be placed at the service of the religious idea, and, from sentimental, religion shall become scientific.

I do not doubt that the diffusion of this new acquisition of science shall be, when it occurs, the origin of a great change in the intimate life of nations, and in their international relations. From a social point of view, its consequences shall be immeasurable, and I can think of none better qualified and more authoritative than the physician, whose influence shall be proportionately augmented, to make acceptable the new knowledge in which illustrious savants have already collaborated.

PAUL GIBIER.

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DOES FIRE INSURANCE COST TOO MUCH?

BY GEORGE URIEL CROCKER.

It may be thought presumptuous for one man publicly to criticise another man's method of business, especially when the critic is an outsider and not familiar with the details of such business. But the business of insurance is one as to which the public is deemed to have the right of criticism and, in some measure, of control, as is shown by the fact that it has long been subject to rules and regulations fixed by the legislatures of the various States.

Fire insurance is a system whereby the loss arising from destruction by fire may be distributed evenly throughout the community, instead of falling entirely upon the person who owned the property destroyed. The earliest organizations for thus distributing the fire loss were of the nature of clubs or societies, conducted on the plan of those benevolent societies of to-day, whose purpose is to distribute among their members the burdens caused by other misfortunes of life, such as sickness or accident. To-day the merits of the system of distribution of fire loss by means of insurance are unquestioned. The system has grown to great proportions, it has changed in its needs and its methods, and it has been extended so that every conceivable kind of loss by fire can now be distributed.

If an individual should own a thousand different houses of equal value, located each in a different town or city, there would, of course, be no necessity for his being insured through an insurance company. To such a man insurance would be simply a matter of book-keeping, whereby he would lay aside each year the estimated average amount of his loss. The plan is the same when, instead of one man owning one thousand houses, we have a thousand men each owning one house. In the latter case, the thousand

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men put into the hands of an insurance company the average amount of the fire loss plus an amount sufficient to pay the cost of the care and distribution of the fund thus created. The insurance company then pays to each individual the value of his property should it be destroyed by fire.

It is well to emphasize thus the simple purpose of fire insurance, for the reason that it seems to be misunderstood by many people. For instance, some railroad companies having on their lines a great many small stations and buildings scattered through many towns and in different States, persist in insuring these stations through insurance companies instead of doing the insurance themselves.

When the false economy of this plan was explained to a certain board of railroad directors, the statement of one director was that he could see that it had been foolish to insure all these stations in the past, but it would be more foolish to stop insuring now, while there was a chance that the company might get some of the money back again should there happen to be a prevalence of fires along their line. It is a sad fact that this argument was convincing to the other members of the board, and the policy of insuring through insurance companies was continued.

The question to be discussed in this paper is whether the machinery for this distribution of fire loss has not grown too cumbersome and too expensive, and whether the public of to-day is not supporting a great mass of such machinery, which is not only unnecessary, but is wholly disproportionate to the results obtained.

To-day we find that the amount of premiums paid into insurance companies is *double* the amount paid out by them for fire loss. In twenty years in Massachusetts the people have paid to the companies $148,000,000 for protection against loss by fire, while only $77,000,000 has been paid back again to the people in payment of fire losses. In other words, the drain on the community on account of fire has been twice as great as the fire loss. That is to say, the aggregate loss to the community has been twice as great as if no insurance company existed. This means that the cost of distributing the fire loss has been as great as the loss itself. In other words, the cost of taking care of and of distributing the insurance fund which is paid in by the public, bears nearly as great a ratio to the total of the fund as the running expenses of a railroad bear to its gross receipts.

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As an evidence of the importance of this question it may be said that one of the best known insurance men of this country has called attention to the fact that in the United States $150,000,000 worth of property is annually destroyed by fire. If we add to this loss the cost of its distribution, we have a grand total of $300,000,000, or more than the average annual expense of maintaining the National Government for the past ten years.

What is the cause of this tremendous cost of distribution?

It does *not* go in profits to the insurance companies. The insurance business has not for many years been profitable to the stockholders of insurance companies. Further than this, it is not necessary for most insurance companies to make any profit out of premiums in order to pay handsome dividends on their capital stock As an illustration: An insurance company in Connecticut makes returns to the Massachusetts Insurance Commission that it has a capital of $4,000,000, but that it has investments of the market value of nearly $11,000,000 which bring to it an income of $470,000 yearly. Here is a profit of over 10 per cent. on the capital stock, derived from the investment of that capital stock and of its unearned premiums and surplus. Illustrations of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely, showing that the investments of insurance companies earn handsome dividends on their capital stocks, and in many cases make up for the actual loss incurred in the insurance business.

The great cost of distributing the fire loss is *not* due to competition between the companies.

We seem to have this anomalous condition of affairs: namely, that the insurance companies complain of making no money, and at the same time there is a complaint on the part of the public that there are not sufficient companies with which to place all the insurance needed. The Boston *Herald*, in a recent editorial article on the subject, makes the statement that:

> "In the central part of our city there is hardly a merchant carrying a considerable stock of goods who can obtain the protection against fire which he wishes."

The great cost of distribution of fire loss is not universal the world over. In the first place, a great difference in the rates of insurance is found in different parts of the world. In an address

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at Manchester, England, Mr. H. O. Essex, of the Lancashire Insurance Company, estimates the average rates as follows:

France	8 cents	per $100	Austria	38 cents	per $100
Germany	15	" 100	Russia	61	" 100
England	20	" 100	United States	100	" 100
Australia	36	" 100			

This estimate has been copied by insurance journals in the United States as well as by the daily press, and the accuracy of the rates does not seem to have been questioned. A similar statement as to English rates may be found in *Whitaker's Almanac* for 1894, which gives the following summary:

Common Insurances, rate 8 to 10 cents per $100.

This rate is for buildings covered with slates, tiles, or metals, and built on all sides with brick or stone, or separated by party walls of brick or stone which are carried through the roof, and used for residence or non-hazardous purposes.

Hazardous Insurances, rate 12½ to 17½ cents per $100.

This rate is for buildings of timber and plaster, or not separated by partition walls of brick or stone, or not covered with slates, tiles, or metals, and thatched barns or outhouses having no chimney, and buildings falling under the description of common insurances, but in which hazardous goods are deposited, or hazardous trades are carried on.

Doubly Hazardous Insurances, rate 22 to 25 cents per $100.

This rate is for all thatched buildings having chimneys, or communicating with or adjoining to buildings having one, although no hazardous trade shall be carried on, nor hazardous goods deposited therein, and all hazardous buildings in which hazardous goods are deposited or hazardous trades carried on.

Much depends upon the surroundings of the building insured; for a printer's or bookbinder's workshop in a narrow lane, with old wooden houses near it, the premium would be possibly from 50 to 75 cents per $100.

Special insurances, 25 cents and upwards.

These rates are for buildings and contents, among others of workers in wood, dealers in mineral oils, large drapers, some mills, warehouses, and factories. In the case of some theatres the rate is as high as $1.55 per $100.

The claim has been made by insurance men that these differences in rates between this country and abroad are due simply to the fact that fires do not occur in Europe with the same frequency

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and with the same disastrous results as in this country. It probably is the fact that better building methods are in vogue in Europe than in this country, and that this fact has some effect upon the rates. But when we find rates in the United States twelve times higher than in France, and five times as great as in England, some proof of the fact that this difference is due entirely to better building methods should be offered. No such proof, however, seems to be at hand. We find, however, in comparing cities in Europe and America, according to population, and then according to fire loss, that the fire loss is somewhat less abroad than in this country. As an illustration, it appears that the fire loss in Paris for the year 1890 was $1,845,265, while the loss in Boston during the same year was $960,847. The population of Paris is about four times as great as that of Boston, while the fire loss is only twice as great. It may be said that such a comparison is not of great value, but, in the absence of anything better, it may be taken for what it is worth.

Having told what are *not* the causes of the great cost of conducting the insurance business, the question arises what *is* the cause? And there also may arise this question: If the companies are not making money, and if they seem to be unable to find a way to make money, but, on the contrary, are retiring from business in considerable numbers each year, is it not rather foolish to try to discover any cause? Are not insurance men as intelligent and as active a class of men as any in the community? Are they not as anxious to make a profit as any other class of men? If there were any waste that could be stopped, would they not, and could they not, find it out themselves without the help of any outside inexperienced critics? Then, too, if by reforming any present methods, profits to the insurers and lower rates to the insured might be brought about, why are there not intelligent men enough in the community, with plenty of capital, to go into fire insurance business and show how it ought to be done?

The answer to these questions lies in a consideration of who and what are the "insurance men" of this country.

In the first place they are *not*, as a rule, stockholders in the insurance companies, and, as such, interested in the financial success of those companies. The large stockholders of the comparatively few remaining United States companies are not concerned

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in their active management. The officers, in most cases, receive small salaries, but make up for the smallnesss of their salaries by the commissions which they receive on the business which is brought to their companies.

If one considers who are meant by "insurance men," as a class, it will be found that the persons thus designated are absolutely and entirely *insurance agents* and *brokers*. It is not intended by anything said here to question the personal character of "insurance men," as a class. On the contrary, they have among their number many of the most intelligent, honest, and enterprising members of the community.

The whole business of fire insurance is conducted to-day by insurance brokers and agents. What is their interest? It will be said that if they are honest and faithful, as it is admitted they are, they will serve the best interests of the companies which they represent. They will not take too many risks in one place or too near together. They will not, unless they get extraordinary rates, take risks which they deem to be extra hazardous, and they will see that the money collected for premiums reaches its proper destination. They will also see that losses are justly and honestly adjusted. All of this may be admitted, but what business is it of the insurance man to look after the *profits* of the companies which he represents; what business is it of his whether the public pays twice as much for fires as the actual fire damage? If rates are high, the company which the insurance man represents gets more money, and he gets a larger income, because his compensation is calculated as a percentage on premiums. As to the public he does his duty when he charges the regular rates and no more, the said rates having been fixed by himself and his colleagues on his local board of underwriters.

So it appears that the honest and efficient agent or broker or in other words the "insurance man" has no real interest, pecuniary or otherwise, either in the profits of his companies or in the reduction of rates to the insured.

A certain rule passed by the Boston Board of Fire Underwriters a year or more ago shows that "insurance men" are not fully alive to the interests of the companies. The rule, in substance, was that if the assured would agree to maintain insurance on their property to an amount equal to eighty per cent of its value, they would be entitled to have their insurance at the

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regular rate without any additions. But if the assured would agree to insure his property to one hundred per cent, or its full value, he would be entitled to a reduction of twenty per cent of his premium. Under this rule the companies were compelled to write a policy for $10,000 for the same price as one for $8,000 and upon the same terms. The absurdity of this rule was immediately brought to the attention of the Board of Underwriters, but it was four months before it was repealed.

An examination of the official returns of some of the more prominent insurance companies will give some further light on this subject.

Taking first, one of the large foreign companies, it is found that in six years they have paid out for brokerage and commissions, excluding salaries of officers and employees, an amount equal to 29 per cent of the amount paid by them for fire loss, and if we include salaries of officers and employees, it is found that brokers, agents, officers, and employees together, have received nearly half as much as the insured have received for fire loss.

Taking next a still larger foreign company, which has been paid in six years more than $25,000,000 in premiums, similar facts are found. Brokers and agents get nearly a third as much as the insured get for fire loss, and brokers, agents, officers, and employees get half as much as the insured.

The same state of affairs is found in the American companies. A large Hartford company reports that it has paid in commissions an amount equal to 28 per cent of the amount paid for fire loss, and that the total paid brokers, agents, officers, and employees is equal to 47 per cent of the amount paid the insured for fire loss.

The companies here mentioned are the *best*. If extraordinary cases were being sought, there might be mentioned one small company which reports that its expenses have been a little more than *twice as great as its fire losses*.

It may be noted that what one might expect would be a large item of expense, namely, the maintenance of the system of inspections and rating of buildings and property, is not included under the head of salaries or commissions. This work is done under the charge of boards of underwriters, the expenses of which are divided among the companies, so that the expense to each company is trivial.

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In short, it is found that a very large part of the money laid aside each year by the public as an insurance fund to protect against fire loss, finds its way immediately into the pockets of brokers, agents, and officers of the insurance companies. This amount is half as great as the amount that is returned to the public in settlement of losses, and is equal to at least a quarter of all the premiums paid in.

One extraordinary feature of the matter of commissions is that the insured has to pay a broker's commission on every dollar's worth of insurance, *and on every renewal*, whether he desires the services of a broker or agent or not. It is not to be denied that a broker may be of service to a person desiring to procure insurance, but that the public should have to pay a broker from 10 to 15 per cent. on all premiums, and generally a further sum as a commission to an agent, seems ridiculous.

A fact that shows the rottenness of the present system of conducting the insurance business is the custom for a broker to divide commissions with the insured to obtain his business.

It is not unusual to receive an offer of a rebate from 5 to 10 per cent of the premiums of insurance, as an inducement to deal with some particular broker or agent. It is true that this custom is contrary to law and to the rules of the various boards of underwriters, but it may be stated with perfect positiveness that it is very prevalent, as the writer knows from personal experience. If further evidence were needed on the point, it would be sufficient to point to several brokers' advertisements.

It will be understood that the labors of a fire insurance broker are entirely different from those of any other kind of a broker. The life insurance agent has first to induce a man to insure his life, but the fire insurance broker has no similar labor, for every one wants fire insurance. Having induced a man to have his life insured, there is next the question of what company is the best, and on this point every company is struggling to present evidence that it is the strongest, the most liberal, and the most economical. After the life insurance agent has finally convinced his client on all these points, he is in danger of having all his labor go for naught on account of the applicant failing to pass a physical examination. The real estate broker, the agent or broker for any class of merchandise, has all these difficulties of competition and

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of demand and supply to overcome. None of these labors are required of the fire insurance broker.

The question remains why new capital does not go into the insurance business and adopt new and more rational methods whereby rates may be reduced, the commission of brokers and agents be abolished, and a profit realized on the money put into the enterprise. The answer to this question is difficult, and cannot perhaps be fully given. In the first place, the experience of those who have money now invested in insurance companies, leads them to be timid about putting new money into similar enterprises. There is also the fact to be borne in mind that any company that enters the field to-day, in opposition to present methods, must be prepared to enter a bitter warfare. All "insurance men"—*i. e.*, brokers and agents—will be against the company. The use of underwriters' ratings and inspections would be denied to the new company, for no one is allowed to examine these rating unless he first agrees to adopt them.

On the other hand, in certain branches of insurance, as for instance in mill insurance, a break has been made from the regular system, and the result, largely due to the abolition of commissions, has been a remarkable reduction in rates.

It is possible for any company to-day to bring about a total overthrow of the present system provided that it has a capital large enough to meet the first onslaught of the upholders of the present insurance machinery, and the backing of such members of the community as would give it a credit and respectability above question. Suppose such a company make a reduction of rate of only 10 per cent, would it not receive the patronage of the public? If the company could save for itself another 5 per cent of its premiums it would gain thereby enough to make an extremely handsome dividend on its capital stock.

This above-mentioned saving is only 15 per cent in all, and is a low estimate of the average amount paid to brokers.

If this gain to the assured and to the companies could be made, simply by allowing the public to deal directly with the companies, instead of through brokers, would it not be a great step taken towards lightening the weight of the immense machinery for the distribution of fire loss?

GEORGE URIEL CROCKER.

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THE OUTLOOK FOR PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT.

BY THE HON. HANNIS TAYLOR, UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SPAIN.

In these days of doubt and uncertainty, when the whole social fabric is menaced by the growth of new political theories which strike at the roots of existing institutions, a natural anxiety prompts the thoughtful to inquire whether or no the prevailing system of parliamentary government will be able to ride out the storm which is everywhere rising around it. Despite its marvellous extension during the present century, and the existence of the general belief that it is destined to enjoy an indefinite duration, political critics of the highest order are not wanting who venture to treat it as a mere experiment which may at any time end in failure and disappointment. Sir Henry Maine, after reviewing the short history of popular government in the form in which it now exists, has lent the weight of his great name to the conclusion that so far as the facts of that history go "they do little to support the assumption that popular government has an indefinitely long future before it. Experience rather tends to show that it is characterized by great fragility, and that, since its appearance, all forms of government have become more insecure than they were before." In an article from Prof. Goldwin Smith, entitled "Party Government on its Trial," which appeared in this Review in May, 1892, that eminent writer concluded with the following statement:

> "Party government, many of the people who are not politicians are beginning to admit, is on its trial. But we must ask whether elective government is not on its trial also; or, rather, whether elective government, properly so-called, has ever in the case of nations or large constituencies really existed, or can be made really to exist?"

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According to those who take a pessimistic view of the future of parliamentary government the two greatest dangers which menace its perpetuity arise, certainly so far as continental Europe is concerned, out of the growth of vast standing armies, which national defence renders necessary, and out of the presence of that ever widening and aggressive element generally designated as Irreconcilables, who declare war upon all existing forms of government, no matter how broad may be the basis of popular suffrage upon which they rest. The history of popular governments shows that their two great adversaries have ever been the army and the mob, which have so often driven them out either singly or in combination. To these older dangers, which have long menaced the parliamentary system from without, must be added that which now arises from within out of the designs of that socialistic element which aspires to win majorities in national assemblies, as now constituted, by the use of the suffrage, and then by means of the supreme power thus legitimately won to inaugurate a revolution which will ignore both the sacredness of contract and the stability of private property.

This dark forecast of the future of popular government can only be met by the assertion that while it may be said to be still in an experimental stage, it is steadily and firmly advancing in the path of historic development along which it is being impelled by the silent and irresistible force of a natural political evolution. The new science of comparative politics has long ago demonstrated the fact that the political institutions of the Aryan peoples, springing from the village community as the germ of organization, have grown and expanded by virtue of law which has made the evolutions of politics scarcely less orderly and progressive than those of the physical world. Political growth seems everywhere to be natural; there is no progress by leaps and bounds; everything matures and ripens through the silent force of custom. Nothing seems to be more certain than the fact that the great dominant forms of government, which at different epochs of the world's history have become universal, or nearly so, have neither appeared nor disappeared through conscious human agency. Each age seems to be dominated and overshadowed by some prevailing form of polity which the irresistible law of growth forces upon the nations whose free agency seems only sufficient to enable

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them to modify and adapt it to their own peculiar wants and conditions. In that way, and only in that way, has conscious human agency been able to mould and modify the world-wide processes of political development. Only during marked transitions from one stage of growth to another, generally called revolutions, do opportunities arise for such new combinations of old elements as are generally mistaken for inventions. The student of the science of politics, as now understood, can therefore only regard the existing parliamentary system as a stage in that process of political evolution which has been slowly unfolding itself for centuries; while the practical statesman can hope to do no more than devote himself to the study of the political system which he finds growing upon his native soil with a view to its cultivation and improvement. No speculation can be more barren than that which addresses itself to the impossible inquiry as to the length of time the prevailing form of parliamentary government will probably exist. Those who are really interested in its perpetuity and well-being need only devote themselves to the history of its origin and growth in order to draw from its antecedents a knowledge which will indicate the means necessary to improve its operations.

The fact must be borne steadily in mind that the representative principle was utterly unknown to the ancient world, which never employed representative assemblies. The ancient conception of the state was embodied in the city commonwealth, whose democracy acted through the narrow primary body which met within its own walls, and in which all citizens were expected to be actually present and vote. The citizen who could not be present in person could not vote by proxy; and hence the idea of Aristotle that no free state could exist whose territory was so wide or whose population was so scattered that all citizens could not habitually attend the state assembly. Rome never advanced beyond this primitive system, which was utterly incapable, of course, of concentrating her widely scattered dependencies for political action in one central body. The means for the accomplishment of that great end was first supplied by the Teutonic nations who settled down upon the wreck of Rome, bringing with them, as a part of their political organization, the principle of representation, which has enabled the nations of the modern world to organize representative assemblies which can speak and act for

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large bodies of men scattered over vast areas of territory. The political systems of all the Teutonic nations, as they appear to us when written history begins, contain the germs of the representative principle imbedded in the organizations of their local self-governing communities; and in all the settlements made by them on Roman soil a serious attempt was at some time made in the direction of representative government. But the remarkable fact is that in every continental state in which such an attempt was made it ended at last in failure and disappointment. By the sixteenth century every effort made to establish representative government upon the continent of Europe had come to an end. Then it was that the free constitutions of Castile and Aragon were overthrown by Charles V. and Philip II.; then it was that the States-General of France met for the last time prior to their final meeting upon the eve of the French Revolution.

During the epoch which extends from the sixteenth century to that great event pure monarchy became the dominant and overshadowing form of government which impressed itself upon the continental nations. Only in the province of Britain has the system of representative government there established by the Teutonic conquerors had a continuous and progressive existence. Hence, out of the English parliamentary system, planted by Teutonic settlers upon what had been Roman soil, have grown all the representative assemblies of the modern world either through an unconscious process of natural reproduction, or through that of conscious imitation. By virtue of the first process have grown up all the representative assemblies of the United States whose success has done so much to hand on the torch which the mother country has kept burning. From the United States republican and representative principles have passed to all the Spanish-American communities from the borders of Mexico to the Straits of Magellan. No attempt, however, can be made within narrow limits even to summarize the troubled history of those republics which speak a language more widely diffused through the civilized world than any other save English alone. The influence of the United States has also impressed itself to a marked extent upon the politics of Europe. Not until after the English political model had been popularized by the founders of the federal Republic of the United States did its reproduction upon the Continent really begin.

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Guizot has said that every great idea which has entered into modern civilization has first passed through France before it has received general acceptance. Certain it is that the English representative system, strengthened by its American experience, never began to make headway among the Continental nations until it was first commended by that school of French thinkers who at the end of the last century began to advocate its adoption. Since then representative assemblies after the English model have been set up in France, in Spain and Portugal, in Holland and Belgium, in Germany, Italy and Austria—in all the European nations, in fact, except Russia and Turkey. With the exception of Greece, Servia and Bulgaria, all the Continental states have adopted the English bicameral or two-chamber system; and they have also copied in some form the English idea of ministerial responsibility to a national assembly. Passing to the Eastern world, a parliamentary *régime* has also been set up in Japan, a circumstance which accounts to a great extent no doubt for its recent advancement. In the light of this vast and rapid expansion of the representative system both in the old world and the new during the present century, it must certainly be regarded as the one dominant and overshadowing form of polity which the irresistible law of political growth has imposed upon the age in which we live. In order to estimate its ability to deal with the mighty problems now forced upon it, and to resist the forces which menace its perpetuity, it is but just to examine it in the light of its most perfect developments as they exist in England, France and the United States.

During the thirteenth century was completed throughout Europe that phase of its political growth generally known as the estate system, which consisted of the division of a nation into definite classes or orders of men, a condition of things out of which arose that type of a national assembly in which each class or order appeared in person or by representatives. While in each country the system has its special or local history, as a general rule, three estates everywhere appear arranged upon substantially the same principle. In France the States-General were composed of the clergy, the nobles, and the rest of the nation as the *tiers état*. In Spain there were three orders, and also in England, where they appear as the clergy, the baronage and commons, and not as often erroneously stated as king, lords and commons. The

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English Parliament soon came to consist, however, of two houses instead of three, by reason of special and local causes, which brought the separate representation of the clergy to an early end. The representative chamber was then greatly strengthened in England by reason of the fact that the knights of the shire, representing a class of landed proprietors considered on the continent as lesser nobles, took their places, not in the House of Lords, but in the Commons, with the representatives of the towns. Thus reinforced by a most influential element, the English representative chamber has during a period of more than six centuries been growing in power and influence until it has at last become the dominant force of the constitutional system. Through the growth of its exclusive right to initiate financial legislation, it has finally won the power to control the entire executive administration, a control which it now exercises through that inner circle of the privy council known as the cabinet, which is no more nor less than a committee of the House of Commons authorized by it to carry on the Government so long as it can command a majority of its votes.

This representative chamber which claims the right to speak and act for the English nation has been very slow in extending the right to participate in the election of its members to the main body of the people. The county franchise which was limited in 1430 (8 Henry VI.) to such freeholders as "have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year at least, above all charges," was never enlarged until the enactment of the great Reform Bill of 1832. This mediæval limitation of the suffrage in the shires was so extended in another form to the municipal electoral system as to bring about a still more sweeping restriction in the cities and towns. Through the results of this disfranchising process the county constituencies were finally overshadowed by the paramount influence of the greater landowners, while the borough constituencies became in the main the property of the crown and the aristocracy. It is said that in 1793, when the members of the Commons numbered 558, a majority of 354 was nominally returned by less than 15,000 electors, but in reality on the nomination or recommendation of the Government and 197 private patrons. To remedy this wretched condition of things was passed the Reform Bill of 1832 under whose operation the electors of the United Kingdom rose to the number of

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1,370,793, a total which had swelled in May, 1879, by reason of the Reform Act of 1867, to 2,999,229. The results of the Revolution of 1688 finally established the political supremacy of the House of Commons; the Reform Bill of 1832 transferred the actual control of that house from the titled and untitled landed aristocracy to the English middle classes; the Reform Act of 1867 enfranchising the working classes enabled them to take their places by the side of the middle classes in the control of the governing assembly of the State.

The great change thus brought about in the constitution of the Commons told at once upon the political weight of the hereditary chamber. "Since the Reform Act the House of Lords has become a revising and suspending house," in which great national measures passed by the Commons may be for a time delayed until the nation becomes thoroughly in earnest. Then, when the hereditary chamber definitely refuses to bow to the will of the Commons, it is threatened with annihilation. This abnormal condition of things has brought the English people face to face with one of the most serious constitutional questions with which they have ever been confronted. Despite the fact that they have taught all the world to believe that a parliamentary system, in order to be well-balanced, must consist of two chambers, a great English party is now contending that Sieyès was right when he said that "if a second chamber dissents from the first, it is mischievous; if it agrees, it is superfluous." If this proposition to abolish absolutely the upper house should be accepted, conservative England, the mother of Parliaments with two chambers, would pass at a bound to a radical position which would commit her destinies to a single assembly, armed with full power over the constitution, which it may wield at pleasure. At no previous stage of their history have the English people ever reformed their constitution in that way. Their rule has ever been to so modify and reconstruct old institutions as to bring them into harmony with existing conditions without any violent break with the past. While there is at present no good reason to believe that England will give up the two-chamber system, it is manifest that the House of Lords must be so reconstructed at an early day as to bring it into harmony with modern ideas without an entire annihilation of the hereditary class which still exercises so great an influence upon English public opinion. The only practical

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question now is as to the means best calculated to bring about that result.

As constitutional reform is an experiment which should always be made, if possible, in the light of experience, the English can hardly do better than employ the expedient by which the question of a second chamber was happily solved under like circumstances by the Spanish statesmen who drafted the present constitution promulgated in July, 1876. the Spanish Senate as now constituted consists of three elements: the first embracing the greater nobles (the grandees of Spain), who are distinguished from the lesser by the possession of a certain annual income from land, the heads of the church, the army, and the navy, together with the heads of certain supreme tribunals, all of whom sit by virtue of their status or office; the second embracing the life senators, appointed by the Crown; the third embracing the senators, elected by the people. By express provision of the constitution the first and second classes when added together shall not exceed 180, the number fixed for the elective senators, a half of whom are chosen every five years or whenever the crown sees fit to dissolve the elective element of the senate as a whole. Twenty years of experience has shown that a senate thus constituted easily adapts itself to all the necessities of a parliamentary system guided by a ministry responsible to a popular chamber. The life senators nominated by the party which happens to be in power when vacancies occur are generally about equally divided. Under such conditions the senate can always be made to respond to the national will through the 180 elective senators who may be thrown upon their constituencies whenever they fail to agree with the majority of the lower house. If the English people resolve to reform the House of Lords upon conservative lines they can scarcely hope to improve upon the Spanish experiment* which has produced a senate of real power and dignity, a body in which the church and the nobles are well represented, and yet a body which through its appointed and elective elements can be made when occasion requires to quickly respond to the touch of public opinion.

The growth of monarchy in France gradually crushed the life out of all the older forms of popular government, both central

* Second Chambers embracing hereditary peers, life and elective senators, also exist in Prussia, Bavaria, Cis-Leithan Austria, and Portugal, as well as in many of the smaller German States.

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and local, which had sprung from the institutions of earlier times. The States-General, after being kept alive for three centuries (1302-1614) ceased to be called together when they were no longer needed to give sanction to the measures of a ministerial system which so far centralized the provincial administration as to exhaust the vitality of all the older forms of local self-government. What the French Revolution did not destroy was the system of centralized administration which the monarchy had developed; the legislators of the revolution attempted to do no more than reorganize and simplify that system. The Constituent Assembly simply gave order and symmetry to local administration, when in December, 1789, it carved out of the old provinces of France the eighty-six existing departments now divided into arrondissements, each arrondissement being subdivided into cantons, and each canton into communes. As a general rule, the central government is directly represented through appointed officers in every grade of local government under a scheme which renders the entire local machinery responsive to the guiding hand of the ministry at Paris.

Upon this artificial and bureaucratic substructure, with no historical connection with the traditions of the older freedom, have been superimposed the several systems of popular government that have followed each other since the great upheaval at the end of the last century, which substituted the absolute sovereignty of the people for the indefensible sovereignty of the king.

The most hopeful and the most permanent of these experiments is embodied in the existing third republic proclaimed by Gambetta in 1870, when the war was still in progress. As all the world knows, a national assembly chosen by universal suffrage in 1871 to settle the terms of peace with Germany, after performing that function, continued to govern the country provisionally down to February, 1875, when, assuming to act as a constituent assembly, it adopted the present constitution, which, a year later, went into operation. So far as central political organization is concerned, the present French constitution was made strictly after the British model. As in the English system, the supreme powers of the state are vested in two chambers, which have the right to change the constitution without limit when acting jointly as a national assembly. There is no tribunal like the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the validity

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of national laws; the only body competent to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation is the Legislature itself. The weakest feature, however, of the system has grown out of the impossible attempt to put a Republican President in the shoes of an English sovereign by making him a mere figurehead entirely dependent upon the ministry, which in France, far more than in England, is subject to the dictation and control of the popular chamber. This decline of ministerial leadership in France seems to have resulted of late years from the assumptions of the Budget Committee of the Deputies which claims the right to dominate and direct the financial policy of the Government. As an eminent American critic has lately expressed it:

"The extraordinary functions which have been arbitrarily assumed by the Budget Committee simply mirror the whole political situation in France. The chamber has undertaken to govern, with or without the leadership of ministers. So capricious, so willful, has it been in its rejection of every minister who would not at once willingly serve its moods, so impatient, indeed, with all ministerial leadership, that almost every public man of experience and ability in France has now been in one way or another discredited by its action; and France is staggering under that most burdensome, that most intolerable, of all forms of government, *government by mass meeting*, by an inorganic popular assembly."*

The instability which results from this unfortunate condition of things in which real and stable leadership is denied both to the president and the ministry can be easily illustrated by a recapitulation recently made by the *Figaro* of all the ministries that have existed in France since February, 1871. From that it appears that there have been *thirty-four* within that time, with an average life of only eight months; and, including those persons who have gone out of office when partial changes have been made, there have been 201 different ministers. MacMahon governed with eight cabinets, Grévy with twelve, Carnot with ten. This lack of responsible leadership, which is depriving France of that kind of firm and continuous policy which is so necessary for her welfare, is sure to increase with the persistent growth of factions. French republicans will therefore soon be forced to look the fact in the face, that, in constructing the executive power, the framers of their present constitution fell into a fatal error, from which the framers of the constitution of the United States were saved by a circumstance to be explained hereafter. It has been well said

* Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, p. 211.

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that the old kings of France reigned and governed; that a constitutional king of England reigns but does not govern; that the President of the United States governs but does not reign, while the President of the present French republic neither reigns nor governs. As a protest against this condition of things impossible in a republic, Casimir-Perier sent in his resignation. The inevitable remedy is plain and simple. The President of the French republic must be made like his legitimate brother, the President of the United States, an independent factor in the constitution clothed with real powers and responsibilities.

The ancient illusion that the constitution of the United States sprang from the brains of its framers through a kind of inspiration has long ago been dispelled by the fact that "constitutions are not made, they grow." Transplanted from the narrow confines of an island world into a practically limitless expanse of territory, the old plant has naturally taken on several new forms as the result of its new environment. In that way the political experience of the United States has given to the world two and only two new principles which are of vital importance to the future of popular government. The first is the principle of constitutional limitations upon the legislative power whereby rights become so "vested" that they cannot be overturned in a moment by ordinary representative assemblies,—a barrier against revolutionary and socialistic designs against private property and the sacredness of contract which Europe does not possess. The power of the American Courts, State and Federal, to declare void all legislation passed in violation of such limitations, is nothing but the corollary or necessary consequence of this principle. The second is embodied in the new path-breaking idea, unknown in all previous federal systems, whereby the framers of the Constitution of the United States were able to apply federal law directly to individuals as such instead of to the corporate bodies or States of which they were members. The application of this new principle made necessary the division of the sum of federal power into the three departments, legislative, executive, and judicial. Upon this subject there is also an ancient illusion, still often indulged in by writers of the first class, which should give way to plain historical facts. Somebody who had never read the *Federalist* a long time ago, put in circulation the statement that the framers of our Federal Constitution really believed that

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in the English system, which they so closely followed and so perfectly understood, the three powers were actually separate and distinct from each other. Even Prof. Goldwin Smith, in the article already referred to, restates this most improbable assumption as follows:

"The framers of the American Constitution erred plainly enough in taking the legal and Blackstonian version of their British model as practically true, assuming that the King was the real executive, and that the House of Lords was a branch of the legislature coördinate with the House of Commons. They erred in fancying, with Montesquieu, that the executive, legislative, and judicial powers under the British constitution were really independent of each other. Their imitation is impressed with these misconceptions."

The plain answer to this bit of groundless criticism is that it rests upon three serious "misconceptions" of fact. In the first place, Montesquieu perfectly understood and accurately expounded the maxim as to the division of powers in the qualified sense in which it was understood in the English system (See Spirit of Laws, bk. XI., ch. 6). In the second place it is certain that "the framers" were under no possible misconception because Mr. Madison, who more than any other man was the father of the constitution, after assuring us that Montesquieu "did not mean that these departments ought to have no *partial agency* in, or no *control* over, the acts of each other," goes on to say that "on the slightest view of the British constitution we must perceive that the legislative, executive, and judiciary departments are by no means totally separate and distinct from each other," a fact which he drove home by an analysis of the state constitutions in which he failed to find "a single instance in which the several departments of power have been kept absolutely separate and distinct," "notwithstanding the emphatical, and, in some instances, the unqualified terms in which the axiom has been laid down."* In the third place "the framers" did not err in "assuming that the king was the real executive." The fact is, that at the moment they were doing their work he was the real executive; for the moment cabinet government did not exist in England; under the domination of George III. it had passed into eclipse.† As Sir Henry Maine has well expressed it:

"the figure they had before them was not a generalized English king nor an abstract constitutional monarch; it was no anticipation of Queen

* *Federalist*, No. xlvi., Dawson ed., pp. 334-342.

† This fact has been fully developed by Mr Bryce in *The American Commonwealth*, and by Sir T. Erskine May, Const. Hist., vol. i., pp. 15-164.

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Victoria, but George III. himself whom they took for their model. Fifty years earlier, or a hundred years later, the English king would have struck them in quite a different light."

Thus it was that the framers of the constitution of the United States were saved from the fatal error committed by our French brethren a century later when they attempted to put a Republican president in the shoes of a modern constitutional king. The presidential office in the United States was patterned after that of an executive who actually governed, and the experiment has worked successfully for a hundred years. The only practical inconvenience which the legislative business of the country, now swelled to immense proportions, suffers under the existing system grows out of the want of power upon the part of the American cabinet to appear in the houses upon grave occasions in order to introduce and discuss legislation upon a few vital subjects, in reference to which the President should have the initiative. In an article upon that subject which appeared in this REVIEW in August, 1894, I attempted to point out how that difficulty can be removed by a simple act of Congress, with a corresponding change in the rules, without any organic change whatever in the constitution itself. Under the Swiss federal system, singularly like our own, the ministers who hold for a fixed term possess the right to propose and discuss legislation in the chambers, and if their proposals are defeated they simply go on with their work as if nothing had occurred. The fact has therefore been demonstrated by experience that the advantages of a limited ministerial initiative may be enjoyed without the consequent inconvenience and turmoil which results from too frequent changes of ministries. Not until the American cabinet is permitted to appear at the bar of the houses in order to propose, discuss, and press to a vote certain vital subjects of legislation upon which the interests of the country must always depend, will we come into possession of that all-important business principle which enables every parliamentary government in Europe to concentrate the energy of the legislature at the critical moment upon such pressing matters as should be disposed of, to the exclusion of all other business,—a faculty which our headless and leaderless committee system very poorly supplies.

HANNIS TAYLOR.

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PERSONAL HISTORY OF THE SECOND EMPIRE.

IV.—THE EMPEROR'S MARRIAGE.

BY ALBERT D. VANDAM, AUTHOR OF "AN ENGLISHMAN IN PARIS," "MY PARIS NOTE-BOOK," ETC., ETC.

AMONG the notes written by my elder granduncle within the twelvemonth preceding his death, I find the following: "We went to see the arrival of Alexander II. at the Northern Railway, and while waiting on the platform caught a glimpse of the Emperor. At that distance he looked ill and careworn—more careworn than ill. I feel convinced that among that chosen gathering within, and that vast crowd without, the station, there were not two men feeling more wretched than the Czar of all the Russias and the Emperor of the French, whom to honor those crowds had assembled. But I fancy that the Emperor feels even more wretched than the Czar, for although they both know that they may at any moment become the victims of assassins, the latter is borne up by the knowledge of being hemmed in by a serried phalanx of blindly devoted friends, while the former is painfully aware of being surrounded by envy and intrigue. 'I can count the friends who would sacrifice their lives for me on the fingers of one hand, and still have two fingers left to snap at my enemies,' the Emperor said the other day in a tone of bravado which, however, did not deceive me or himself as to its underlying bitterness. I think the Emperor is mistaken in the number of those who would fight for him till they had not a drop of blood left. Conneau and Rouher, and another half dozen I could name, would stand by him, like Fleury, Persigny, and Princesse Mathilde, no matter what happened. At the same time, there is no doubt that since Mocquard's death* he feels more acutely than before the

* François Mocquard was Louis Napoleon's private secretary from the moment the latter became a candidate for the Presidency until Mocquard's death. My

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envy and constant antagonism of which he is the object on the part of Jérôme. Mocquard was the only one who could manage that cur (*ce chien hargneux*), for he is his equal in knowledge, and does not mind flinging his knowledge overboard to come to close quarters with him physically. If Mocquard had had his way, he would have made an end of him seventeen years ago, and Louis Napoleon would have been rid of the most cowardly and at the same time most unscrupulous enemy he had had in his life."

The last sentence of this note must be taken literally, for it is a literal fact that on the morning of December 7, 1851, hence on the Sunday after the *coup d'état*, Mocquard would have shot down Plon-Plon like a mad dog if the Prince-President had not placed himself in front of his cousin at the risk of his own life. The incident is absolutely unknown, but I have chapter and verse for what I state. The Prince-President was very indignant, and ordered Mocquard to apologize. Mocquard not only refused to do so, but turned on his heel and left the room. When Plon-Plon was gone, the Prince went to Mocquard and repeated his order—"unless," he added, "you can give me a valid reason for this utterly unprovoked attack." "I will neither apologize nor give you a reason, Monseigneur," replied Mocquard firmly; "sooner than do either, I would leave you and the Elysée forever. But mark this, the time will come when you will be sorry for my miscarried attempt." The Prince did not insist, and up to the day of his death he never knew what had goaded Mocquard into that apparently unprovoked assault. Mocquard himself kept the secret for many years; but at the time of Plon-Plon's marriage with Victor Emmanuel's daughter, he told my granduncle, and after recounting the above particulars, he gave him the reason also, pledging him to secrecy only with regard to the attack, not with regard to the cause. "I meant to kill him," said Mocquard, "and have been sorry ever since that I did not succeed. From the Tuesday till the Friday morning (December

granduncle's estimate of his mental attainments was somewhat exaggerated; for though a very talented lawyer and a clever literary man, he was *not*, intellectually, Prince Jérômes's equal. My uncle's partiality was due to their sincere friendship for Mocquard, who was a constant guest at our home, and whom I liked almost as well as did my uncles. The origin of these three men's attachment to one another was their common and fervent admiration for Queen Hortense, and their unbounded sympathy with her third son. I am under the impression that the substance of a great many of my uncle's notes relating to things absolutely unknown even to the Emperor's immediate *entourage*, were communicated by Mocquard, though I have no absolute evidence to that effect. I shall avail myself frequently of them, especially in this chapter.

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2–5, 1851) he was seen everywhere, except at the Elysée, by the side of that cousin to whom he already owed so much. When I say everywhere, I mean among the adversaries of the Prince. And when, on that Friday morning, all further resistance seemed obviously hopeless even to the most determined of the Prince's adversaries, Plon-Plon girded his loins for another effort. He actually went to the offices of the *Presse*, and in conjunction with Emile de Girardin drew up a kind of manifesto inciting people to further revolt. While the matter was being put in type Plon-Plon waited in an adjoining room. He was correcting the proof when two members of Girardin's staff came in and told him that the army was master of the situation. Thereupon Girardin informed them of what was being done in the next room, and before he had ceased speaking Plon-Plon came in, proof in hand. 'Then you mean to say,' he exclaimed angrily, 'that you accept the whole affair as an accomplished fact—that you decline to sign this protest?' 'And you,' was the counter-question of one of the newcomers, 'and you, will you sign the protest?' 'That's different; my position forbids me doing so.' 'In that case,' remarked Girardin, quietly, taking the proofs from Plon-Plon's hands, 'in that case there is no need for these proofs, for I was under the impression that you were going to sign at the head of us all.' Saying which, he tore up the proofs and flung the pieces into the waste-paper basket. I have got them in my possession, with the corrections and two additional sentences in Plon-Plon's handwriting. I have had them since the evening of that day. It does not matter how I got them. I pasted the pieces together, and keep them under lock and key."

The suppression of that one fact could have made but little difference to Louis Napoleon's estimate of Plon-Plon's character, nor did it. He knew that he and his father would stop at nothing to gain their ends—namely, the imperial crown for the son—and the knowledge embittered his life from the moment he set foot in the Tuileries. Up till then his life was perfectly safe from their attacks, for they had nothing to gain by his death and everything to lose. It is generally supposed that the new Emperor endeavored to surround himself with the *noblesse* of the old *régime* from a feeling of vanity, and for the purpose of conciliating that *noblesse*. Nothing is farther from the truth; at any rate, while the Emperor was a bachelor. To begin with,

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Napoleon III. was the least vain of all men in that respect; if anything, his vanity lay the other way; he prided himself upon being a parvenu among the crowned heads of Europe, and somewhat ostentatiously applied the epithet to himself. Secondly, he felt convinced that no amount of favor and good-will shown to a fraction of the Faubourg St. Germain would insure him either the dynastic or social countenance of the rest, but he thoroughly agreed with the axiom of Napoleon I., "*Qu'il n'y a que la noblesse qui sache servir,*" and he wished to take his Mamelukes, his Roustans, from among them. "I believe in my star, but I am afraid of the satellites," he said one day to my uncle, shortly after he had taken up his residence at the Tuileries. My uncle endeavored to talk him out of it, albeit that he himself believed that fear to be justified, and then the Emperor told him a story, which, if invented by a Palais-Royal farce writer, would stamp that writer as one of the greatest masters of his craft, though at the same time the public might object that their credulity had been put to too severe a test.

"You remember," said the Emperor, "that on the 2d December [1852], I removed to the Tuileries for good, and that on the evening there was a State dinner. Nor need I remind you of the debt of gratitude I owe to my cousin, the Princesse Mathilde. Well, I considered it my duty to acknowledge that debt semi-publicly, and took the opportunity of doing so that night. Through an oversight of the reporters, the papers reproduced the spirit, perhaps, though not the substance of my words. I took her into dinner, and before we sat down I said, loud enough to be heard by everybody, 'My dear Mathilde, for the present your place is on my right hand; when you vacate it, it will be to take the one still nearer to my heart.' The papers had it, 'My dear Mathilde, you will take the first position, here on my right hand, until there is an empress.' In reality there was not a pin to choose between the significance of the two sentences. The moment I had spoken the words I noticed a scowl on my uncle's face, and during the whole of the dinner he scarcely addressed himself to me, and answered me gruffly when I spoke to him. Next morning Fleury came in at the usual hour, which, as you know, is before I see anybody, unless Mocquard has something special to communicate to me. I have always considered a few minutes' chat with Fleury as a stimulant to help me through with

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the business of the day. Fleury has got a tell-tale face, and the moment I looked at him I knew that something comic had happened. 'Comic, indeed, sire,' he said, in answer to my remark; 'I doubt, though, whether your Majesty will think it as comic as I do. Your Majesty's uncle has been simply foaming at the mouth since last night, and goes about yelling that you had no business to marry, that such a marriage would interfere with his son's rights. Just before he left he held forth to me for about ten minutes. I was under the impression at first that he was joking, but I assure your Majesty that he is terribly in earnest.

In 1831 Louis Napoleon, in spite of his preoccupations about the French throne, was virtually an idler—a *flâneur*—though evidently not the kind of *flâneur* so tersely described by Balzac, the *flâneur* whose apparently idle lounging is a science, viz., the gastronomy of the eyes. For it is very doubtful whether the *flâneur* proper, as distinct from the literary man and painter, would have attempted to cultivate that science in the Quartier Mouffetard and round about the Place Maubert sixty-four years ago, when that neighbourhood was even less savoury than it is now. And yet it was to that unsavoury neighbourhood that the twenty-three-year-old Prince repaired nightly for more than a month before the disturbance on the Place Vendôme (May 5th 1831); it was in a thieves' den that he spent most of his time while Louis Philippe, who had given him and his mother permission to stay for a short period in Paris, was under the impression that he was ill in bed, although Casimir-Perier (the grandfather of the late President of the Republic) knew better; for he had given orders to the Prefect of Police not to lose sight of Hortense's son. Young Louis Napoleon was arrested on the 7th or 8th of May, and conveyed to Sainte-Pélagie. That much is certain, for Raspail, the eminent savant, saw him there and gave a description of his mode of life. But the particulars of that arrest never fully transpired; beyond the fact that the Prince was *not* arrested at home, the outer world knows nothing up to the present day, and but for the following note, I should have been as ignorant. Whether I have read the note aright or not is a question I dare scarcely decide for myself.

"The news of Eugène Sue's death reached here a couple of days ago, and, of course, the papers are full of biographical arti-

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cles and reminiscences. In spite of all these, I question whether more than a dozen people are personally affected by his disappearance. But Véron, whom I met yesterday, was decidedly upset, albeit that the cause of his emotion is, to say the least, curious. 'To think,' he said in a subdued tone, 'that not one person in a thousand will give Sue a second thought after he, the individual, has read the articles about him. And yet it seems but yesterday that the whole of France was ringing with his name, that people were absolutely frantic to know what he ate and drank, how he dressed and spent his time. If such is the case with a man of his talents, what will it be with men of less talent, but who, nevertheless, have also tried to benefit their fellow-creatures?' And he pulled a very doleful face, at which I burst out laughing, for I could plainly see that he was thinking of his own posthumous reputation. He evidently read my thoughts, for he smiled. 'Ah, well,' he remarked, 'we all have our little weaknesses.' Then he suddenly added, 'I wonder what the Emperor thinks?' 'The Emperor?' I repeated in surprise; 'the Emperor has no need to regret or to mourn over Eugène Sue, for Sue certainly did not behave in a friendly way to him. Even if Sue's republican convictions were as strong as he represented them to be, which I doubt, he ought to have remained silent at the *coup d'état*.'* 'I was not thinking about that,' replied Véron; 'I was wondering how he takes the death of the novelist who immortalized him as Prince Rodolphe of *Les Mystères de Paris*.' I stood staring at him. 'I see, you do not understand,' he said. 'Come along, and I will tell you.' We sat down at Tortoni's, and then he told me that when Louis Napoleon

* My uncle was right. Eugène Sue was the godson of Louis Napoleon's mother and of her brother, Eugène de Beauharnais, whose Christian name he subsequently took, although it was not given to him at his baptism. The fact of his being the godson of some of Louis Napoleon's relations ought to have imposed a certain reserve with regard to the Prince, even if his, Sue's, socialistic tendencies, Republican opinions, and sympathy with the poor had been less suspected, and justly suspected, than they were. (See *An Englishman in Paris*, vol. I., ch. 2.) Even the people in whose interest he professed to act made fun of him when he became a candidate for a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. But on the strength of his two great novels, Sue determined to pose as a benefactor to suffering humanity, although he himself had not the least intention of assuming such a *rôle* when he began *Les Mystères de Paris*. Accordingly, when on the 2nd December, 1851, Morny placed his name on the list of Deputies to be arrested, and when the President put his pen through the name, Sue, still determined to enact the victim, voluntarily constituted himself a prisoner at the Fort de Vanves. When the "Bill of Exile" was promulgated, he was again disappointed, for the President had effaced his name a second time. Sue professed himself offended at that clemency, and went into exile of his own accord. As may be seen from all this, Louis Napoleon remembered that Sue was his mother's godson, Sue did not. Louis Napoleon's behaviour in this instance bears out the words of Persigny, quoted in a previous chapter, namely, that Louis Napoleon gave his affection to people irrespective of its being returned or not.

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was arrested in May, 1831, he was not only *not* arrested at home, but that he wore a blouse and a cloth cap at the time. 'To the best of my belief,' Véron went on, 'it was on the outskirts of the Quartier Mouffetard, but of that I will not be certain, for Sue, who told me, was not certain himself.' 'Then it was Sue who told you?' I asked. 'How did he know?' 'That I cannot tell you, I do not know; but I am under the impression that he got the story at the time from ex-Queen Hortense herself.' I remembered that in spite of Sue's tuft-hunting in the Faubourg St. Germain in the early thirties, he went to see his godmother once or twice; it was not quite so clear to me why Queen Hortense should have told him the particulars of her son's arrest, and I pointed this out to Véron. 'The same thought struck me, and I can only account for it in one way,' replied Véron. 'Part of the story was sure to leak out—those things always do; for when Louis Napoleon was transferred from the Palais de Justice to Sainte-Pélagie, he still wore the clothes in which he was taken. The officials of the prison must have seen the Prince in them, and they had no incentive to hold their tongues. Queen Hortense, I need scarcely tell you, was too clever not to have anticipated this; so in order to explain her son's disguise, and to find at the same time a colorable excuse for his constant excursions to the Quartier Mouffetard, she invented the story of his having gone there to get materials for his contemplated studies on pauperism. I feel certain that at the time Sue himself was taken in by the story, and when, ten years later, *i. e.* after the publication of the opening chapters of *Les Mystères* in the *Débats*, M Considérant, the editor of *La Démocratie Pacifique*, gave him, as it were, the cue as to the aim of his novel, he took the hint, and made Rodolphe a philanthropist, a redresser of wrongs, and so forth. Honestly speaking, I do not believe for one moment that Sue started his novel with such an idea. He no doubt recollected the incident of the Prince's arrest and from the very outset had the Prince in his mind's eye when sketching Rodolphe, but that was all. Nor do I believe that the Prince went to the Quartier Mouffetard for philanthropic purposes."

In at least one respect Louis Napoleon was like François I., and the fascination the latter exercised over women. To the full as ill-favored by nature as Mirabeau, Louis Napoleon had been just as successful with women, and in many instances

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with women of standing in society. At the very moment when Mdlle. de Montijo appeared on the scene, a woman was to a certain extent supplying the first sinews for that war the guerdon of which was to be the imperial crown of France. And, in spite of all that has been said, Miss Howard was neither born in a garret nor bred in a kitchen. She may not have been a gentlewoman by birth and breeding in the best acceptation of the word; but she was by no means the utterly vulgar, ignorant and debased creature people have tried to make her out. She was not highly educated, perhaps, but she had a natural charm and tact that made up for the lack of education. Great statesmen did not hesitate to solicit her help when Louis Napoleon, even as President, became inaccessible to them; great statesmen's emissaries did not consider it superfluous to sound her with regard to the new Emperor's opinions on very weighty measures. If my statements on these points are challenged, I will give proofs which it will be difficult indeed to controvert. She had hosts of wealthy admirers, and was possessed of considerable means. The sum she lent Louis Napoleon was far short of the legendary eight millions of francs, but it amounted to more than £40,000. And, let it be remembered that, by Miss Howard's own admission, not one cent of that money was borrowed or lent under a promise of marriage, although the contrary has been so often asserted as to make one tired of contradicting it. Miss Howard was too sensible a woman to have ever fostered such a hope. In her bitterest denunciations of Louis Napoleonsh e never taxed him with having deceived her in that way.

Louis Napoleon, though not a vain man, was well aware of the passion he had inspired. His previous as well as actual love affairs—the use of the plural is necessary—must, moreover, have convinced him that his powers of fascination were not on the wane. What more natural, in his case, than that he should wish to test them on the young Spanish girl whom accident had thrown across his path, and who was unquestionably one of the most beautiful women of her time.

Says La Fontaine:

> *Filles de sang royal ne se déclarent guères*
> *Tout se passe dans leur cœur, ce qui les fasche bien,*
> *Car elles sont de chair ainsi que les bergères.*

If ever a man knew these three lines by heart, and felt inclined

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to act upon the strong hint conveyed in them, it was assuredly Louis Napoleon. Besides, he was, above all, a thorough worldling, and as such may have entertained a strong suspicion that it was not altogether accident that had thrown Mlle. de Montijo across his path. The fame of her beauty had spread through many lands; she rarely appeared anywhere without a throng of admirers, but she might have said, with Esther Eccles in *Caste:* "There is not a husband among them"; for though many aspired to the pleasure of her society, none aspired to the honor of her hand.

Louis Napoleon had not the faintest intention of making the handsome Spanish girl his wife either in the near or remote future. If proof of this were wanted, it would be found in the fact of his having as good as solicited the hands of several royal princesses during the period—the twelve months immediately preceding his marriage—when he was supposed, and not unjustly, to be simply frantically in love with Mdlle. de Montijo. Cælebs in search of a wife was nothing to it. The Dowager Duchess of Baden (Stéphanie de Beauharnais), the Duke of Leuchtenberg (another relation on his mother's side), and Don Francis d'Assisi (the husband of Isabella of Spain) were successively but fruitlessly appealed to by him to provide him with a spouse. Finally, just a month before the public announcement of the Emperor's betrothal to Mdlle. Eugénie de Montijo, he applied to Prince Hohenlohe for the hand of Princess Adelaide, and a week later the Queen and Prince Albert were still discussing a letter from Prince Hohenlohe on the subject. The new Emperor's offer was kept a profound secret at the time, at the urgent request of Prince Hohenlohe himself, who feared that the prospect of being Empress of the French might prove too dazzling for his daughter, while he, her father, was in no way fascinated by it. From his point of view the proposed union was not desirable; he had misgivings about the settlement, and objected, moreover, on the grounds of religion and morals. The Queen herself did not oppose the alliance, although, with a kind of prophetic instinct, she alluded feelingly to the fate of Marie Antoinette and her successors on the throne of France. Prince Albert tried hard not to let his personal dislike of Louis Napoleon influence his counsel—a dislike, by the by, he shared with nearly all the Coburgs.*

*Want of space prevents my giving all the particulars of this affair, which for many, many years afterwards, were only known to half a dozen persons at the out-

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I repeat, up till the beginning of January, 1853, the Emperor had not the least intention of making Mdlle. de Montijo his wife. Had his request for Princess Adelaide's hand, or for that matter, for any princess's hand, been accepted, he would have simply broken his pledge, and substantial compensation would have been forthcoming.

As it was, the announcement caused a panic, though not an unforeseen one, for the Emperor's *entourage* had been, if not consulted on, at least apprised of his intention. That *entourage* was, as we shall see in the next chapter, heterogeneous to a degree; yet, dissimilar as were all these men in taste, birth, breeding, and disposition, all but one disapproved of his matrimonial choice. To all of which objections the Emperor, *faisant bonne mine à mauvais jeu*, and with commendable chivalry to his betrothed, replied: "*Quand on a sous la main ce que l'on aime, ce n'est pas la peine d'aller chercher ce que l'on n'aime pas.*" "The Emperor is right," said Dupin—the only one who approved, though qualifiedly, the choice—"the Emperor acts more sensibly in marrying the woman he likes than in eating humble pie to some German princelet for his daughter with feet probably as large as mine. At any rate, when the Emperor kisses his wife, it will be from choice and not by compulsion."

The Faubourg St. Germain—*i.e.*, the old *noblesse*—made common cause with the Orleanists' salons in their scathing comments. They conveniently overlooked the fact that they were the descendants of the most corrupt society the world had seen since the Roman Empire, so corrupt, that before the Revolution the fact of having a Frenchwoman among his ancestors disqualified a man for investiture with the knighthood of one of the Teutonic orders. There was no attempt at investigation; the fact itself was deemed a conclusive proof that plebeian blood had been introduced. Prince Puckler-Muskau, who had a French mother, was debarred from entering the Knights-Templars on that account. The Faubourg St. Honoré—the *noblesse* of the First Empire—also forgot their own origin. The *bourgeoisie* of the Chaussée d'Antin was more disgusted still, and in its comments hit the Faubourg St. Honoré

side, namely, the Queen, Prince Albert, Napoleon III., Prince Hohenlohe, Lord Palmerston, and Walewski, who had sounded Palmerston on the subject. It was Palmerston who suggested the Emperor's letter to Prince Hohenlohe. Walewski, who was a friend of Dr. Véron, at whose house he once lost 96,000 francs at a single game of lansquenet, told his host, and the latter told my uncle.

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smartly on the head, though perhaps unwittingly. They in reality considered it a slight that the Emperor had not chosen one of their daughters. "Eugénie de Montijo is, after all, the granddaughter of a trader like ourselves. One of our girls would have done as well. The First Empire was built up with the blood of stable lads, coopers' 'prentices, and what not. The Second Empire might have done worse than take a little of the blood a cut above that of the stable lads, &c." The Faubourg St. Antoine would have applauded such a step; though they would, in spite of their democratic prejudices, have preferred a daughter of the old *noblesse*. In default of a foreign princess, they would have preferred a Frenchwoman of no matter what class, and they jeered at that part of the Emperor's manifesto which described Mdlle. de Montijo "as being French at heart." The *bourgeois Voltairien* jeered at another allusion in that proclamation—viz., "the virtues of Josephine." "It is a strange present to put into a girl's *trousseau*," he said, but perhaps they can only afford one shift, and they have given her a Nessus one, which will not come off.

When it came to selecting the Empress's future household, the difficulties were still greater; the Faubourg St. Germain as well as the Faubourg St. Honoré declined the honor of a position at Court for their womankind.

ALBERT D. VANDAM.

(*To be Continued.*)

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

HYPNOTISM AND JUSTICE.

"Another phase of hypnotism in its relation to crime has just been developed out in Minnesota. The accused murderer is to be put into the hypnotic state by a number of experts, and every word uttered by him in that condition will be taken down in shorthand and used as evidence at the trial. It is claimed by the defence that the accused committed the murder under hypnotic influence. So, if his story told to the physicians while under their influence agrees with the one told in his waking hours, it will be held that his original story is true."

To the great majority of newspaper readers the logic and justice in the foregoing quotation will appeal strongly as wise and sensible. Will it so appeal to the thinking man, as well as the experimenter in hypnotism and psychology? It is to be doubted that it will, and for the better attainment of justice, in so far as hypnotism is concerned, I offer this plea.

As is now generally acknowledged, suggestion plays the most important rôle in hypnotism, and as the phenomenon of suggestion forms the basis for the following argument in this particular case, it may be well to review briefly what the word may exactly mean, by a short description of the mental attitude of the hypnotized immediately before and after the suggestion is given him by the hypnotizer. Ignoring for the present the particular case in point, the Minnesota murder, and omitting also the various common manipulations for inducing the hypnotic sleep, we will begin by a consideration of the subject as he sits before us in the state generally described as the somnambulistic. Picture him, then, as immobile, deaf, dumb and blind to all except the words and acts of the operator. No voluntary act or word is ever manifest, and until suggestion is supplied by the operator he remains perfectly passive and seemingly incapable of any movement or activity whatsoever. He is absolutely without volition, being in a state ready for the fulfillment of any suggestion, and upon the nature of this suggestion will depend his subsequent act and speech. For illustration, let us imagine his brain extirpated while the cut ends of both sensory and motor nerve fibres are in connection with the nerve cells in the brain of the operator. Thus we may explain his utter lack of volition and increased power of receiving suggestion.

Suggestion consists in giving thought to the subject for action or speech, and will power for its accomplishment. It may be communicated by word, or by gesture capable of interpretation by the subject into manifold activities. As the verbal suggestion alone concerns us, it only will be described. The subject is commanded by the operator to perform certain acts—to sing, to dance. etc.,—all of which he readily obeys. He is told he is an animal, and immediately he drops on all-fours; he is handed a hot iron with the assur-

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ance it will not burn him, he grasps it without sensation; he is misinformed as to the name of his most intimate friend, and so tenaciously does he cling to the new name that his friend cannot undeceive him. And so on, through the long list familiar to all who have witnessed the hypnotic *séance*. But let us dwell a moment upon the spirit in which the subject performs these various acts. By the most superficial observer the intentness with which the subject responds to suggestion is noticeable. And well it may be, for nowhere out of hypnotism or disease is such concentration obvious. It is a concentration so absolute and entire that it almost passes the boundaries of our conception. While acting under hypnotic suggestion, it seems as though every atom of mental energy is used in the fulfilling of that suggestion, whether it be sensory or motor. For how else may we explain the common phenomenon of insensibility to pain, etc.? It would seem scarcely possible that the integral parts of the nerve fibres are disturbed, or that it is a material alteration in them which causes their inhibition, for upon subsequent waking their normal functions are immediately restored. Every explanation based upon physiological ground is insufficient or erroneous. We have in the subject a simple, entire concentration of mental power, either for act or sensation, or for the cessation of one or both. So strong and undivided is this concentration that, beyond the carrying out of the suggestion itself, there is absolutely nothing else—no sensory nor motor impulses, no thought nor will, no question as to the fitness of the suggestion nor attempt to do other than obey it. Moreover, in a good subject, the obedience is complete and perfect.

Let me now recall briefly the entire lack of volition before suggestion, while the subject is in the somnambulistic state; also be it understood, no matter how often the subject may be hypnotized, upon each succeeding sleep just so soon as the somnambulistic state appears, all volition will certainly disappear. Without suggestion the subject will remain absolutely passive, for, in short, he is robbed of his will and incapable of any sign whatsoever of either physical or psychical power. His subsequent acts depend entirely upon suggestion and particular acts upon the nature of the particular suggestion.

With this brief *résumé* I think we may turn to the case in point, the Minnesota experiment. At the very outset, however, we are confronted by a phenomenon so utterly unprecedented that I think it wise to notice it, although it does not enter into the argument of this paper, for the reason that it is ignored by the experts in Minnesota. We learn from the article in the newspaper that the accused tells a *waking story* of the murder committed while under hypnotic influence. In my own experience, and that of an associate, I have never met with a subject who, upon waking, could remember or relate any of the numerous actions performed while under hypnotic influence, nor can I find record of such a case in a tolerably wide reading in the literature of hypnotism. But as the above fact is seemingly unnoticed by the experts in Minnesota, we will, for the sake of my argument, consider the waking story of the murderer true: That he has committed the murder under hypnotic influence and remembers the deed with its detail.

The question now rises, If his story told under the second hypnosis agrees with his waking story, will that circumstance prove his waking story to be true? I do not think it will. Another conclusion might seem very reasonable, I admit; but in this second hypnosis are we to forget the immense power of suggestion?

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Let us remember upon the culmination of the second somnambulistic state we have a *new* subject in so far as volition goes. He is immobile, deaf, dumb and blind as the type quoted above. From the hypnotizer he must receive the impulse to talk, to tell his story, as would any new subject. He will *volunteer* nothing in word or act. Consequently we recognize he will not repeat the desired story, his waking story. Indeed, he will but sit passive, waiting the impulse his own mind cannot supply. Suggestion must now be given him by the experts to draw out his story, which may convict or acquit him. His whole mind will respond to that suggestion with the utter concentration I have above attempted to describe. This suggestion will govern and rule his thought, his speech, his story. If the suggestion from the experts bid him repeat the story of the crime, he will obey; if it bid him deny the deed, he will do so vehemently; if, in the progress of his denial, a new and contradictory suggestion is given, he will accept it and heartily accuse himself.

H. MERRIMAN STEELE.

THE CONDITIONS OF GOLD PRODUCTION.

In the January number of the REVIEW the Director of the Mint indulges in a characteristic commentary upon the statistics of gold production. Mr. Preston does not seem to possess an accurate knowledge of the conditions under which the figures, of which he writes, are created.

The matter is an important one, and though the writer may not be competent to take part in the public discussion of economic theories, yet as a mining engineer he asks to be permitted to correct certain ill-founded conceptions concerning one of the main factors determining the solution of the great monetary problem of our day.

The Director of the Mint takes pains to controvert Prof. Edouard Suess, and goes so far as to state that not one of the eminent Austrian's conclusions has been fulfilled. He denies that the increased production of gold goes hand in hand with geographical discovery. All the chequered history of gold mining proves Mr. Preston to be wrong. Is not the output of South Africa to-day the consequence of the geographical discoveries of yesterday? Did not the development of the mineral resources of the Dark Continent come as the result of its exploration by the bands of travellers who followed in the footsteps of Livingstone and Stanley? Has not the penetration of the deserts of Western Australia given us Coolgardie and Cue? And, coming nearer home, is not the largest production of Colorado's increasing annual yield derived from the youngest of its many gold mining districts? In direct opposition to Mr. Preston I would corroborate Professor Suess, and maintain that the newness of a gold mining district is usually synonymous with productiveness and that exhaustion accompanies age. Remember that Europe was once the great gold-producing region of the world; that Dacia was a golden storehouse to the Roman, and that at an earlier period Hannibal got the sinews of war out of the gold mines of Spain. Where are they now? The former contributes a driblet, the latter are a tale in history.

The Director of the Mint, in contradiction to Professor Suess, submits that in South Africa it has been demonstrated that the gold contents of the ore increase with depth. To a mining engineer, experienced in gold mining and conversant with its vicissitudes, this is a surprising statement. The theory that lodes become richer in depth is a vain imagination of the visionary com-

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pany promoter, which has long ago been discredited by geological science and mining experience. If it were so, why would people waste their energies in surface workings, why would they not sink shafts at least 4,000 feet deep and work upward? Such a proceeding would indicate both a logical sense and a proper knowledge of the best mining methods. The yield per ton of the ores* of the Witwatersrandt, the chief gold producing area of South Africa, has been as follows during the past seven years: In 1888, 22.65 dwts. per ton; in 1889, 19.60 dwts.; in 1890, 13.36 dwts.; in 1891, 11.23 dwts.; in 1892, 10.20 dwts.; in 1893, 10.09 dwts.; in 1894, 9.86 dwts.

The steady decrease in the yield is due to the gradual exhaustion of the bodies of higher-grade free milling ores occurring near the surface.

The Director's quotation of estimates of the millions of ounces of gold supposed to exist in the "banket" deposits of the Witwatersrandt reminds one of similar estimates made in the 'fifties when every Californian river bed was fondly imagined to be paved with gold and every Australian stream was a probable Pactolus. We have read this sort of thing long ago. It may be magnificent, but it is not statistics.

As a general rule in gold mining the free milling ores near the surface, which readily yield their values through simple processes of extraction, are succeeded by material of greater chemical complexity necessitating more elaborate and more costly methods of reduction. Mr. Preston appears to be aware that the ore of the deeper workings of the Witwatersrandt is pyrites-bearing, and must therefore be subjected to chlorination or some other leaching process, but he overlooks or fails to realize that to get the gold out of pyritic ore by chlorination or cyanidation is many times more expensive than to extract it out of free milling ores by amalgamation. That "only five per cent. of the gold is lost," that "it has become possible to obtain almost the last traces of the gold in the tailings," are statements of marked inaccuracy. The "tailings" are the residues of the ore after it has undergone amalgamation. On the Randt the acknowledged loss in the treatment of the tailings by the cyanide process is from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of the gold. Taking the ore as it goes to the mill it is fair to estimate that the total extraction (by amalgamation in the first place, by chlorination of the concentrates, and by the subsequent cyanidation of the tailings) reaches about eighty to eighty-five per cent. in the best establishments and is less in others.

In his estimate of the addition to be made to the world's gold production by the resumption of hydraulic mining in California under the terms of the Caminetti Act, the Director of the Mint echoes the optimism of the daily press of the Sierra Nevada. It is two years since the Act went into effect. What has been the result so far?

My experience of Californian mining permits me to venture to disagree with Mr. Preston, as my familiarity with the goldfields of Victoria enables me to contradict his statement that the "deep leads," or subterranean channels of golden alluvium, are far from being exhausted, and have as yet only been operated to a limited extent. The principal mines of this class at Creswick and Ballarat are some of them exhausted, and others approaching exhaustion. No new ones of equal productiveness are being found.

The Director then proceeds to state that numerous mines in Australia have been abandoned as soon as the unoxidized, pyritic ores were reached by

* From the mill and from concentrates, not including the yield from old heaps of tailings.

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downward development. This is imaginary. The causes of such abandonment are to be found elsewhere. The colonial metallurgists are as well acquainted as their American brethren with the use of processes rendering available the gold in the pyrite, if the gold be present in workable quantity. It is, indeed, a fact that the bulk of the gold product of Australia comes from free milling ores of marked simplicity, but where the pyrite does contain such value as to make it worth the saving, it is collected and sent to chlorination or other reduction works.

This touches on a common fallacy floating in the public mind. There is an idea prevalent that technical science is rapidly bringing processes of gold extraction to such perfection that almost the ultimate portion of value can be obtained by methods as rapid as they are ingenious. The suggestion is frequently made by writers in the press that a mining district, a chamber of commerce, a state or even a national government, should offer a large reward for the discovery of a new process suitable to the simple treatment of complex ores. It is hoped that some heaven-sent revelation will be vouchsafed to some dreaming metallurgist which shall revolutionize all preexisting methods and get 100 per cent. of the value contained in the poorest and most perverse of gold-bearing material. Such ideas, such dreams, such hopes, are all opposed to experience and contradictory to the teaching of the pages which tell the progress of metallurgical art. Evolution, and not revolution, is the keynote of technical science as it is the clue to physiological development. Processes are born every day, but their mortality is depressing. The examination of the history of the standard methods of ore reduction indicates very clearly that it is in the gradual improvement and extension of established processes and in their adaptation to varying conditions that there will be found the readiest and safest road to excellence of metallurgical treatment. The cyanide process, for instance, has been the subject of chemical investigation and practical application for six years, and it is yet an imperfectly understood and only a partially successful method. Chlorination was introduced into California in 1856, it has undergone gradual improvement during forty years, but it is still spoken of as a young method of ore reduction.

"The fact is that the production of gold was never so rapid as it is to-day," the Director says. But this does not accord with statistics. In 1851 California produced gold of the value of $81,000,000 and in 1853 the colony of Victoria yielded over $62,000,000. To-day California and Victoria produce an approximately equal amount, viz.: about $13,000,000. What modern goldfield can the Director mention which can compare with those of the early 'fifties in the amount of their yield or in the ease with which that yield was obtained? South Africa certainly cannot. It is too little realized that the shallow alluvium which represents the easily skimmed cream of gold mining is being rapidly exhausted, and that the yield of the years that are coming will be won with much greater difficulty out of the hard rock by vein mining. Thus, for instance, the Witwatersrandt region in South Africa last year produced about $34,000,000 after seven years of the most vigorous and intelligent development, California yielded $81,000,000 three years after the first discovery in 1848 and Victoria contributed $62,000,000 after barely two years of work. It cost much less to obtain those combined 81 and 62, or 143 millions, in gold than it did to win the 'Randt's thirty-four millions.

In the golden age of Australian and Californian productiveness, 87 per cent. of the entire yield of the world's mining regions came from shallow

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gravel easily and rapidly mined, with the investment of very little more than muscle and energy; to-day 67 per cent. comes from the deep workings of vein mining, torn with difficulty from the heart of the rocks, with the investment of enormous sums of money in plant and machinery.

When the statistics of gold production are interpreted as a refutation of the idea that gold for monetary purposes may become scarce, then the mining engineer, saturated with the brutal facts of gold mining and familiar with the conditions under which those statistics are created, may venture to warn the community against the conclusion that a few figures are all that is necessary to an appreciation of the future of gold.

T. A. RICKARD.

A WORD ABOUT THE "NEW PULPIT."

THE recent article of the Rev. H. R. Haweis, on what he calls the "New Pulpit," is bright and entertaining, and contains many suggestive and helpful thoughts. But it is chiefly remarkable for the odd idea the writer has of the work and office of the Christian preacher.

In the March number of the REVIEW, the Rev. Bishop Foss, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, furnishes a paper "in the nature of a commentary" on the article by Mr. Haweis. But he, singularly enough, fails to note the remarkable standpoint of the writer of "The New Pulpit."

According to Mr. Haweis, the preacher should be a sort of Solomon in the encyclopedic character of his utterances. In this respect Solomon certainly was the prince of preachers. "He spake," we are told, "three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."

Solomon is not named, it is true. We are, in fact, pointed to Christ, who is proclaimed *par excellence* The Preacher. But He is so on the lines of the preaching of Solomon. His themes, we are told, were:

> "The relations between a clever swindler and his employer, a woman plying her broom diligently, a clamorous widow worrying a police magistrate, the children in the street playing their vulgar little games and singing their vulgar little songs, the processes of digestion, the weather (that inexhaustible and invariably interesting topic), the occupations of Hodge, the secrets of fishing, the art of making bread or bottling wine—these were the topics of the Divine Preacher."

This is all a mistake. These were not the topics of His sermons at all. These were but the illustrations He used. He had not three thousand subjects, but one subject; not a thousand and five sermons, but one sermon. He preached the Kingdom and the Kingdom only.

It is fortunate for the clergy—it is perhaps even more fortunate for their hearers—that Christ, and not Solomon, is their exemplar here. The man does not live who can talk profitably on all the widely differing interests of men. The attempt to do so would only end in dismal failure. But the preacher who would reach men, having, like his Master, but one subject and that the Kingdom of God, must also, like his Master, widely gather his illustrations for that one subject and use them unsparingly. As the sky above is ever one and yet ever varying, changing from day to day, so must the message from the Christian pulpit be. Its one subject, first and last and all the time, is

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the Kingdom of God. Let that be preached in all its fulness. Let its principles be unhesitatingly proclaimed. And then let the preacher bid each individual present, be his trade, calling, or profession what it may, go home and apply to himself in his own special needs the preaching of the Gospel he has just been listening to.

Such, at least, was Christ's method. The mistake of the essay, so fascinating and interesting as it is in style and matter, seems to have arisen through a wrong view of the preacher's work. The sermon is not, to begin with, the weekly pabulum of the modern Athenians who gather together week by week to hear some new thing; it is not the culminating effort of a week's laborious toil to produce something original, something startling; it is not a sort of ecclesiastical fireworks intended to be discharged at the close of divine service. What, then, is it? It is simply that which declares, reveals, and makes better known the Kingdom of God. Its chief element is instruction. It is the teacher's voice delivering the faith as the Church of which he is a minister has received the same. There may be, there must be, variety. The more luminous, too, the teaching, the more successful the teacher. But his powers are to be concentrated on one subject, not frittered away over the vast fields of human work and enterprize.

See this in Christ's own case. In St. Matt., xiii., we have many parables. They vary greatly in form, but there is the one truth running through all. They all deal with the one truth that in the Kingdom of God good men and bad men grow together until the harvest.

Take again St. Luke, xv. What, in the midst of variety of treatment, is the truth here? Only this, that in that kingdom the Father's love is such that it ever follows the sinner, even when in open rebellion.

Thus, not Solomon, but Christ, rightly understood, was the best exponent of the New Pulpit.

C. ERNEST SMITH.

EVOLUTION OF THE IRISH FARMER.

The Cork International Exhibition of 1883 marked an epoch in the history of dairy farming in Ireland. After over 800 years the Danes began to be troublesome again. In the old days the Danish freebooters carried off butter from the Irish dairies. In modern times the Danish farmers fought for the place in the English markets which Irish butter had held so long. Mainly through the instrumentality of the late Canon Bagot and his friends, a movement was set on foot which resulted in keeping the Danes at bay.

It is conceded by experts that the pastures of the south and middle of Ireland are among the best in the world. The soil is evenly rich and the rainfall so constant during the summer that there is nearly always an abundance of grass. Before the days of creameries and butter factories the Irish farmers were able to hold their own in competition with the dairy farmers of other parts of Europe. The introduction of butter-making machinery effected changes that brought into bold relief many flaws in their methods. Canon Bagot did his utmost to induce the farmers to lose no time in conforming to the new order of things, but so radical a change was not to be effected very speedily. Before substantial progress was achieved, failures occurred that were promptly used by interlocking interests to block the wheels of progress. Owners of market rights, brokers, coopers, hotel

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and lodging-house keepers, merchants and traders, all thought they could see in the new fangled ideas a lurking enemy. The coopers, who felt the pinch more directly, made the greatest splutter. In face of the inevitable decrease in the number of butter-casks and the increase of butter-boxes, they had recourse to the modern Irish style of vigorous resistance—the brass band and the public platform. The various elements of discontent formed into a compact, sympathetic force behind the coopers, but the creameries and milk factories continued to increase in number.

Many persons have had to find new occupations as a result of the change in methods. Many have been ruined; but, on the whole, it may be said that the good accomplished has largely outbalanced the injury inflicted on individuals. The money realized by the sale of milk has remained in the country, and the profits of the creameries and milk factories have been divided among the stockowners, nearly all of whom are Irish. The farmers do not put up at the hotels and lodging-houses as often as they used to do, but they are not prevented by the circumstances from trading at the recognized market centres.

From another point of view this alteration in methods has done some service. Irish farmers are socially inclined when attending fairs and markets, so that the restriction of such opportunities makes a gain on the side of morality. Although their visits to town are less frequent, their purchases are larger in proportion than they used to be. Several factories, taking extensive supplies of milk and giving large employment, have been established since 1883. Contracts for the milk supply are made at the beginning of each season. As a rule, the farmers accept the terms of the creamery companies, but do not pretend to be entirely satisfied. Some of the companies are exclusively composed of farmers, and there are farmer stockowners in nearly all of them. This fact has a tendency to allay suspicion and prevent the friction which otherwise would be likely to occur.

Districts that cling to the old butter-making methods have been put to their mettle by the creameries. As a consequence there has been a decided change for the better all around. A considerable extension of the butter factory system has been caused by the general striving in Ireland to reach a higher level of excellence. Considering that there are so many small dairies in which the processes of cream-gathering are inexact, the butter factory serves a very important purpose. It re-works butter and makes a feature of packing, so that shipments to the English markets are uniform in grade, style, and attractiveness. Before the day of the factory much of the low grade butter was sent out of the country. In the present state of things the tendency is to secure for Irish butter a reputation as high as that achieved for Irish bacon.

It is evident to the disinterested person that in creamery districts the owners of dairy cattle and their wives and daughters have more leisure than they formerly had. The milk is sent direct from the pasture to the creamery and payment made by check. This state of things is not regarded with satisfaction by certain Irish gentlemen who think they know what is best for the farming classes.

They believe that the farmers' wives and daughters ought not to be relieved from the drudgery of dairy work lest it may unfit the farmers' daughters to become helpful farmers' wives. The remedy suggested is to have the owners of the largest dairies provide themselves with cream separators, so that the old system of individual interests may again preponderate.

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This view of the question is particularly pleasing to those who would be shocked at the notion of having their own wives and daughters slavishly occupied from morning till night. Farmers who keep a large number of cows to supply creameries can afford to have their daughters as well educated as the daughters of city merchants, and there is no reason why they should not be at liberty to do it. It does not follow that because the farmers supply creameries that they should have no reserve of milk for their houses. I found at least one case in which a portion was retained for the farmers' family. Butter was made from this by the wife and daughter. The daughter walked three miles every day, a mile and a half each way, to attend the district school. Her mother assured me that she could not afford to give her so good an education but for the sending of the milk to the creamery. It is obvious that the creamery, conducted in perfect conditions as to cleanliness and evenness, can do more than the farmers to maintain the reputation of Irish butter.

There is no more sense in wishing to return to the old system of dairying than there would be in forming a league to force the farmers to become bacon-curers. This work is admirably done at present by great factories in Ireland. Bacon-curing, although an extensive industry ten years ago, is still expanding. In 1894 there was an increase in the number of pigs over the previous year of 236,893.

The improved position of the Irish farmer should presently bring him to the door of the British Government on an errand hitherto undreamed of. During the period of struggle and hardship, depressed times and uncertainty of tenure, he had enough to do to live. Now that he is "rooted in the soil," it will not take him long to discover that he has a claim on the Education Fund.

Considering what is done by the United States Government to add to facilities for the study of agricultural science, it will appear almost incredible that the English Government does nothing in Ireland in a like direction. From 1849 down to the seventies the Queen's Colleges at Cork, Galway and Belfast had land attached for practical demonstration in agriculture. It was given up in each case, I presume, owing to lack of appreciation on the part of the farming classes.

The movement toward the public treasury for the purpose indicated would be made sooner if the Ashbourne Land Purchase Act had money enough behind it to cover the whole of Ireland. In those districts where its provisions were taken advantage of there has been a wonderful change in the sentiments of the people. Farmers who have acquired ownership of their holdings show no further interest in the work of the agitators. They have enough to do to provide for payments according to the terms agreed upon. It was the opinion of many astute politicians that ownership of the land would be the quickest remedy for Irish discontent. The Right Hon. Edward Gibson, M. P. for Dublin University, must have shared in it before his elevation to the peerage as Lord Ashbourne. But hardly any one thought that the verification would be so prompt; least of all, the Conservatives, who, it will be remembered, could see nothing good in the purchase clause of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill.

Considering the result of the experiment, it is extremely probable that the remainder of the Irish landlords will also go by purchase. When the money is in sight they will be willing enough to go.

The changed condition of the farmer is not more remarkable than the

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decline of political influence. The split in the National party has blunted the weapons of the agitators. There is no man now in Irish politics who can draw the people as Parnell drew them. Mr. Redmond has some conjuring power as the exponent of Parnellite principles, but not enough to induce the farmers to take any more risks in connection with their holdings. It is remembered that the combination against the landlords which were made under Parnell brought ruin to hundreds of farmers. The well-to-do survived the shock, but the poor men were driven to the wall and had to emigrate.

No benefit has been derived from the Ashbourne Purchase Act in the south of Ireland. The agitators prevented the farmer from sharing in its benefits by assurances that better terms would be made. Many of the wealthy farmers, still paying rent, have an unpleasant recollection of the advice. It is quite plain that the farmer has shaken himself clear of the politician for the time being, and appears to be enjoying the freedom.

The increased acreage under crops shows that the Irish tillage farmers have also become more prosperous. They certainly have been spurred into greater activity. In 1894 the total extent under crops was 4,937,179 acres, being a net increase over the previous year of 59,138 acres. Still other evidences of greater activity and prosperity are afforded by the increase of 6,073 dairy cows, 9,638 horses and mules, and 82,436 poultry, and a decrease of 4,336 goats.

The earnings of the banking companies in Ireland are not wholly influenced by the prosperity of the farming classes. It is noteworthy, however, that, with one or two exceptions, they paid dividends in 1894 ranging from ten to nineteen per cent.

GEORGE HENRY BASSETT.

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